

**The Syntax and Semantics of Definiteness in the Jordanian Bedouin Arabic**

**Construct State**

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I dedicate this thesis to my wonderful Jordanian host family, Najeh, Khitam, Rofeyda,  
Al-Mu'tasim, and Al-Ma'mon, for their hospitality and love.

I would also like to thank my two advisors and my best friend Dona for her endless  
support, advice, and useful explanations.

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Overview

This thesis is a treatment of the definite marker in Jordanian Bedouin Arabic (JBA). The goals of this paper are (i) describing the properties of the definite maker through an analysis of its syntactic distribution and the semantic context, and (ii) exploring and ultimately presenting an analysis of definiteness in the Semitic Construct State (CS)—a relational construction that often includes an embedded DP marked with morphological definiteness—as it appears in JBA. It is of the form [X...(+def)-Y] where x is a noun, preposition, or quantifier and Y is a noun, as in:

- (1) fustaan      el-bint   helu   kθiir  
dress.CS   def-girl   nice   very  
'The girl's dress is very pretty.'

I argue that *al* (or an allomorph of *al*) is a morphological marker that indicates definiteness. In the Arabic CS—a relationship between at least two nouns, the second of which is often marked with *al*—the second noun (or last, depending on how many constituents make up a particular CS) carries the definite marker, though the definiteness is often, but not always, interpreted over more than just the word to which it is attached. In fact, as Danon 2007 illustrates, definiteness can be interpreted on the embedded noun and CS as a whole, on the embedded noun only, only on the CS as a whole, and not interpreted within or on the CS at all. In addition to CSs in which the definite marker

appears, there are CSs that involve only two or more adjacent nouns—no definite marker is included.<sup>1</sup>

In order to account for the different readings of definiteness that can arise from the same Construct format (as presented in Danon 2007), I will argue that there is only one semantic interpretation of *al*—that is, as a definiteness marker, but that may be variation in how it is ultimately interpreted due to pragmatic factors. This will ultimately be based upon the assumption that interlocutors are very willing to accommodate definiteness in certain contexts, particularly those involving possessive or pseudo-possessive relationships.

To accomplish this, I will review the existing literature that deals with the syntax of the CS, and present the different schools of thought. Then, I will compare these explanations to my own data from JBA, and, finally, present what I believe to be the best framework for dealing with the varying definiteness readings that arise from the same form.

## **1.2 Background**

The study was conducted on the basis of elicitation sessions with three speakers of JBA who live a little outside of Amman, Jordan. One consultant is a male in his late teens; one, a middle-aged woman; and the third, a middle-aged man. The man and woman are husband and wife, and the teenager is their eldest son. Both the father and mother hail from Bedouin families, and grew up speaking JBA. The son speaks Bedouin Arabic with

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<sup>1</sup> This paper primarily deals with CSs in which there is a definite marker. There are those who argue that CS without a definiteness marker carries an invisible indefiniteness marker in the same place as *al* would appear (See Benmamoun's 2006 entry in the Encyclopedia of Arabic

his parents and family, in addition to the “urban” Jordanian Arabic—which is, according to Herin and El-Wer (2013), a Levantine dialect comprised of a mixture of features from urban Palestinian and the dialect of Salt, Jordan—with his non-Bedouin friends (56). He is competent in both. The parents speak urban Jordanian Arabic at times in work or in various social situations in which they feel it desirable to match the speech of an interlocutor (or, in the father’s case, when he teaches Arabic to English speakers in school). However, when speaking with family members or others in their Bedouin social circle, they almost always avoided using the “urban” dialect. Speaking in the JBA variety was a source of pride to the family, who regarded it as a way of being “honest” about one’s origins and people.

JBA, while sharing many lexical, syntactical, morphological, and phonetic characteristics with its Levantine counterparts, differs in significant ways from the dialects of Arabic spoken by non-Bedouins in the Levantine region. As such, though the family lived in Amman, the Arabic they spoke differed in several ways from that of the Arabic spoken in Amman by Palestinian refugees and their descendants (55-56, El-Wer & Herin).

To give two examples, my consultants do not use the indicative prefix *b-* on verbs to denote that the verb is in the indicative; rather, they use the unmarked form, giving JBA *aḥkiy* for “I talk/speak” versus urban dialect *baḥkiy*<sup>2</sup>. When the indicative is needed, Jordanian Bedouins often use *gaaʕd/gaaʕda* (masculine and feminine, respectively)—the

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<sup>2</sup> At the time I elicited this data, I was not aware of this difference, and so many of the sentences I presented to my consultants contain verbs with the *b-* indicative prefix. However, since I made it a point to make sure they gave acceptability ratings in regards to usage of nouns, CSs, and *al*, I do not think it affected ratings at all.

active participle of the verb “sit” (literally, “sitter”)—before the main verb, which is conjugated according to number and gender:

**(2) Indicative in JBA**

Situation: I showed my consultants a picture of a group of firefighters putting out the fire.

I then asked my consultants to describe the scene:

fii      hariig   wa   gaʕadin      yiṭfo   bi      al-hariig  
there-is   fire   and   sitter. MASC.PL   put-out.3.PL   DEF.fire  
‘There is a fire and they are (in the process of) putting out the fire.’

This is one of several morphosyntactic differences between JBA and urban dialects.

On a phonetic level, JBA differs from the urban dialect in several ways. For example, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) *q* is realized in urban varieties as *ʔ*, but is realized in JBA as *g* such that:

**(3a) yaqul      (MSA)**

he says

‘he says’

**(3b) biʔul      (Urban Levantine Dialects)**

IND.he says

‘he says’

(3c) *yigul* (JBA)

he says

‘he says’

(Herin & Al-Wer, 2013).

Furthermore, while urban dialects often reduce MSA *dʕ* to *d* and MSA *θ* to *t*, JBA retains *dʕ* and *θ*, respectively. Several other examples are covered in papers focusing on phonetics (see Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Herin & Al-Wer, 2013; *Bédouin, Village and Urban Arabic: An Ecolinguistic Study* by F. J. Cadora; and *Gradient Uvularization Spread in Ammani-Jordanian Arabic* by Bushra Zawaydeh).

Given that there are morphological and phonological differences between JBA and other urban dialects, there may be differences in the semantic and syntactic features as well. Furthermore, differences in the productivity of the CS among dialects makes exploring it in JBA worthwhile. For instance, Moroccan Arabic has gone the way of Modern Hebrew, and CSs are typically reserved to compound nouns and frozen expressions<sup>3</sup> (akin to “kindergarten” in English), with possession otherwise signaled by a preposition—*dya*—between the nominals in question (akin to Hebrew *shel*). Egyptian Arabic seems to occupy an intermediate position on the spectrum—the CS is still productive, but the preposition *bitaʕ* is often used when the possessor is definite:

(4) el-beyt      bitaʕ      Tamer  
DEF-house at/belonging to Tamer  
‘Tamer’s house/The house of Tamer’

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<sup>3</sup> For more on frozen CS expression in a Semitic language—Hebrew—see Borer 1988.



Though it is not incorrect to use the CS to express the same semantic content:

- (5)   beyt   Tamer  
         house Tamer  
         ‘Tamer’s house/The house of Tamer’

Gulf Arabic dialects and JBA, on the other hand, have retained highly productive use of the CS. Due to the slightly more conservative nature of some morphosyntactic and phonetic aspects of JBA<sup>4</sup>, I predict that the semantic and syntactic properties of definiteness in JBA will be found to be similar to those of Modern Standard Arabic.

## 2. The Arabic Definite Marker

It will be useful to briefly discuss some important concepts within the realm of definiteness. Roberts 2006 and 2012 explains several useful concepts related to aspects of definiteness that I adopt in this paper. Summarized, some of the more relevant ones for this paper are:

- a. Use of definite NP presupposes that a corresponding discourse referent is both
  - i.* familiar (has been mentioned before or is held in the common ground of the interlocutors) in the discourse, and
  - ii.* unique among the discourse referents in a certain context in “bearing the property in question” (2006).

- b. In order for definiteness to be licensed, strong familiarity (explicit reference to

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<sup>4</sup> The issue of which Arabic dialect mostly closely resembles Classical or Qur’anic Arabic has been a matter of continual scholarly and popular debate for years. This paper makes no ultimate claim as to which dialect is, in sum total, closest to that of Classical Arabic.

the noun in question) is not necessary. It is enough that the entity in question be “entailed by the (local) context of interpretation” (2006).

**c.** Accommodation: when something is not strongly familiar (it has not been explicitly mentioned), speakers can still accommodate its being definite via accommodation. Roberts includes a rule of accommodation for presupposition: *If at time t something is said that requires presupposition P to be acceptable, and if P is not presupposed just before t, then—ceteris paribus and within certain limits—preposition P comes into existence at t* (2012).

With this in mind, let us consider the data from JBA.

In all dialects, the Arabic definite marker *al* and its allomorphs (usually this includes *al*, *an*, *az*<sup>ʕ</sup>, *at*<sup>ʕ</sup>, *ad*<sup>ʕ</sup>, *as*<sup>ʕ</sup>, *a*<sup>ʕ</sup>, *as*, *az*, *ar*, *að*, *ad*, *aθ*, *at*, and sometimes *adʒ*). *Al* is prefixed to a noun in order to mark it as definite. Thus, in JBA:

**(6a)**    zalameh  
          guy  
          ‘a guy/man’

**(6b)**    az-zalameh  
          DEF-guy  
          ‘the guy/man’

The same holds true for all dialects of Arabic, including Modern Standard Arabic:

**(7a)**    rajul-un  
          man-NOM.INDEF

‘a man’

- (7b) ar-rajul-u  
DEF-man-NOM  
‘the man’

Here, the *az* in Example 6b is an allomorph of *al*, as is *ar* in Example 7b.

Note in Example 7 that Modern Standard Arabic has a nominal case system, with endings for definite and indefinite nouns. The cases are the nominative, the genitive, and the accusative:

	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE
Nominative	-u	-un
Genitive	-i	-in
Accusative	-a	-an

Figure 1: MSA Cases

JBA—along with most (likely all) dialects of Arabic—has lost all six of these case endings. As such, the possibility of using inflections to differentiate between definite/indefinite no longer exists in JBA—instead, it depends entirely on the presence of *al* and its allomorphs (much like in Hebrew, which has also lost its case endings in most situations, and now only uses *ha*). In example 6a, an unmarked, or bare, noun unambiguously denotes an indefinite noun—an idea which describes a novel discourse referent. This can be clearly seen in the following example, in which my consultants

were given the following scenario:

**(8) (Un)acceptability of *al* with no Salient Referent**

Situation: I told my consultants, “ ‘I am bleeding.’ You ask me, ‘What happened to you?’” Then I asked them if I could say any of the following:

**8a.** Ana taʕθart bi el-ħajar  
I trip.PST.1.SG on DEF-stone  
‘I tripped on the rock’

**8b.** Ana taʕθart bi ħajar  
I tripped.PST.1.SG on stone  
‘I tripped on a rock’

In this context—one in which no rock has been mentioned in any previous conversation, nor is visible, nor contextually salient, and cannot be easily accommodated—it would be expected that, the indefinite version of the noun would be used. My consultants’ replies confirm this: given the aforementioned context, in which the referent is neither strongly nor weakly familiar, Example 8a is unacceptable, whereas 8b is acceptable.

This is clear evidence that the *al* denotes familiarity, or, we might say, definiteness, a concept that is expounded upon in the upcoming sections.

### **3. The Construct State and Possession: A Basic Description**

Doron&Meir (2013) provides an excellent description of the CS in Hebrew, much of which can be aptly used to describe the CS as it appears in JBA. They note that a CS is made up of a theoretically unbounded string of nouns of arbitrary length. In practical

terms, the length is typically two, although longer cases do occur:

**(9) CS with More Than Two Constituents**

snaan     kelb     jiraan-o  
teeth.CS   dog.CS   neighbor-3RD.MASC.SING.POSS  
'his neighbor's dog's teeth/the teeth of his neighbor's dog'

The first phonologically occurring noun is the head of the phrase. This noun is in the CS in contrast to the default free nominal state. In Semitic languages, the embedded element of a CS is always a noun and is the only element on which *al* can appear (it cannot appear on the head). The head of a CS can be a noun (examples 10a,b& c), a nominalized verb (example 11), a numeral or quantifier (examples 12a,b,& c), a preposition (examples 13a&b),<sup>5</sup> an active participle (examples 14a&b), or a passive participle (15).

**Noun**

**(10) a.** mart     az-zalameh  
wife.CS   DEF-man  
'the man's wife'

**b.** fustaan     el-bint  
dress.CS   DEF-girl  
'the girl's dress'

**c.** sayaaarat   ar-rayes  
car.CS   DEF-president

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<sup>5</sup> The Verbal Noun in Arabic comes in two forms: *ism faʿil* (the active participle) and *ism mafʿuul* (the passive participle), and are derived from the root and measure of the verb from which they are derived. For a more information on participles, see Hazout 1991.

‘The president’s car’

### Nominalized Verb

- (11) rojoʃ            bint-o  
return.CS    daughter-3RD.MASC.SG.POSS  
‘his daughter’s return’

### Numeral or Quantifier

- (12) a. bʕaɖ            atʕ-tʕulaab  
some.CS    DEF-students  
‘some of the students’
- b. kul            atʕ-tʕulaab  
all.CS    DEF-students  
‘all of the students’
- c. shwayyit    el-ʕainaab  
a little.CS    DEF-grapes  
‘a little/a few of the grapes’

### Preposition

- (13) a. abl            el-ħefleh  
before.CS    DEF-party  
‘before the party’
- b. taħt            es-sriir  
under.CS    DEF-bed  
‘under the bed’

### Active Participle

(14) a. muʕallimat                      el-atʕfaal  
           teacher.FEM.CS            DEF-children  
           ‘the children’s teacher’

b. kaatib            er-rewaiya  
           writer.CS   DEF-book  
           ‘the author of the book’

### Passive Participle

(15) makaatib            Fairouz  
           letters.CS            Fairouz  
           ‘Fairouz’s letters’

It should be noted that unlike Hebrew, colloquial JBA does not treat adjectives as the heads of CS. My consultants asserted that, while not incorrect to do so, it is characteristic of a higher register—namely, that of Modern Standard Arabic. Instead of:

### (16) *CS With Adjective as Head*

gamis    azrag            al-lown  
   shirt    blue.CS   DEF-color  
   ‘a blue shirt’ (Lit. ‘a shirt of blue color’)

my consultants preferred to use a possessive pronoun:

### (17) *Description with Possessive Pronoun*

gamis    lown-o                                      azrag  
   shirt    color-3RD.MASC.SING.POSS    blue  
   ‘a blue shirt’

Another feature of the CS are phonological changes that sometimes occur on the head noun. There may or may not be an obvious phonological change that cues the listener that a noun is in the Construct State. In the case of feminine nouns ending in *a*, as in Hebrew, in JBA, the absolute state *a* is changed to an *at* (see Example 10c; “sayaara” becomes “sayaarat”) in the CS<sup>6</sup>. A plural head that, in the absolute state, ends in *iin* reduces to *ii* when in the CS. Furthermore, Benmamoun, among others, has noted that a CS behaves as one prosodic unit.

Normally, there can be nothing occurring in between the elements of a CS. However, as Doron and Meir note in Hebrew, and as can be found in Modern Standard Arabic, JBA does permit coordinating heads:

**(18) *Coordinating Heads in a CS***

beyt	wa	sayaarat	Mikhail
house.CS	and	car.CS	Michael
‘Michael’s house and car’			

Although sometimes this construction is avoided, as Sadock notes for Hebrew, in a similar way in Arabic:

**(19) *Alternative to Coordinating Heads in CS***

beyt	Mikahil	wa	sayaarat-o
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<sup>6</sup> As I understand it, there is some debate as to whether the underlying form of the noun is with the *-at* and it drops/is not pronounced in the Free State/bare noun or if it the result of phonological change in the CS. I go with the second analysis—as Barker 2008, who notes, “In the Construct State, a bare head noun undergoes morphophonemic changes (here, pronunciation of the final /t/)” (pp. 15).



house.CS Michael and car.CS-his  
'Michael's house and car'

So, the CS creates a relational construction (often one of possession) between the head and the final term of CS. While the embedded noun is clearly denoted by genitive case marking in Modern Standard Arabic, case marking is not present in JBA. As such, the position/ordering of words and the aforementioned phonological changes that occur in feminine and plural heads are the only indications of an element's role within the CS.

It should be noted that, although all preceding examples have included a definite marking, CS can occur without a definite:

**(20)** *CS Without a Definite*

Situation: I showed a consultant a picture of a man in a business suit walking and asked her to describe what she saw (see Appendix):

rijaal ʕaaml yimshun  
men.CS work walk.3.M.SG  
'Working men walking.'

**(21)** *CS Without Definite*

Situation: I showed a consultant a picture of people on a rollercoaster and asked him to describe what he saw (see Appendix):

hay medinat malaahiy  
this metropolis.CS amusement  
'This is an amusement park.'

## (22) *CS Without Definite*

Situation: I showed a consultant a picture of people in a line holding hands and asked her to describe what she saw (see Appendix):

[hay] magmuʕat naas, shebab wa banaat, maskiin iidayn baʕd  
this group.CS people boys and girls, holder.PL hand.PL together  
‘[this is] a group of people, boys and girls, holding hands together.’

There is always the risk that an example like 20 or 21 is a frozen expression, but there is no shortage of examples of CSs with no *al*, as it is a fully productive configuration. As will later be demonstrated, (at least) one CS head—quantifier “a little”—seems to occur more in CSs without the *al* feature.

## 4. Semantics

### 4.1 *Al Outside of the Construct State*

The first order of business in this section is to describe the semantic nature of *al* in JBA. While *al* maybe be a morphological marker of definiteness rather than a full-blown article (refer to the upcoming section, Syntax), Heim’s 1982 description of the definite article serves as a good starting point for our analysis. She describes the role of a definite article as something that presupposes of its referent that it is salient in the discourse. It is clear from the following example (among others that can be found in the Section iii in the Appendix) that [+def] marker *al* requires its referent to have discourse salience. Consider (23):

## (23) *Discourse-initial context*

Situation: I'm telling you a story. I begin "Once upon a time..." Can I say:

**23a.**

kaan      fii              zalame  
was      there(lit.in)    man  
'There was a man.'

**23b.**

kaan      fii              az-zalame  
was    there(lit.in)    DEF-man  
'There was the man.'

All three of my consultants said 23a was acceptable, and all three deemed 23b unacceptable. These two sentences are a minimal pair. Since the man in question has not been made salient, **b** is infelicitous. I used this particular example because it is a discourse initial context, in which nothing is salient, so it is a good test for definiteness. Section 2's examples 8a and 8b also demonstrate *al*'s signaling of definiteness.

Furthermore, *al* cannot be used in cases where there are multiple possible discourse referents (i.e., when no one thing is salient):

**(24) Uniqueness: Usage of *Al* and (Im)possibility of Multiple Referents**

Situation: I gave my consultants a context, then asked if the following sentence would be acceptable in said context:

al-bint      helu      kthiir.  
DEF-girl    pretty      very  
'The girl is very pretty.'

**24a. Context:** *There are many girls, all of which are pretty. I'm not looking at any particular girl.* **Result:** Unacceptable for 3 out of 3 consultants.

**24b. Context:** *There is a crowd of men and one girl.* **Result:** Acceptable for 3 out of 3 consultants.

We also see *al* behave in ways that do not require a salient discourse referent when generics are involved, because JBA speakers often prefer to mark generics as definite (at least, in the present tense).

**(25) *Al Used as Marker of a Generic***

Situation: I told my consultants, “We are talking about the importance of sunscreen.” I then asked if I could say the following:

**25a.**

heta walid bashart-u soda laazim yistaxdam waaqi shemsi.  
even boy skin-his black must use.3.SG protection sunny  
‘Even a boy with dark skin must use sunscreen.’

**25b.** heta al-walid illi<sup>7</sup> bashart-u soda laazim yistaxdam waaqi shemsi.  
even DEF-boy which skin-his black must use.3.SG protection sunny  
‘Even the boy with dark skin must use sunscreen.’

In the case of 25a, two consultants said yes, and one said no, whereas in example 25b, all consultants said yes, and two of the three noted that it was a much better option than 25a.

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<sup>7</sup> Note here that the *illi* of **2a** is a relativizer that is necessary whenever the subject of the relative clause complement is definite.

This indicates that JBA prefers marked nouns; for more data, see the Appendix.

Possibly idiomatic (I assume): We see what may be an instance of this in the following examples. Next to each example number are three numbers, somewhere on the scale between 0 (totally unacceptable) and 10 (totally felicitous). These three numbers are the ratings my consultants gave each of the examples. Note:

**(26) 7, 9, 8**

behab                      aj-jowleh  
PROG.love.1.SG   DEF-tour  
'I love tours.'

**(27) 0, 2, 0**

behab                      jowleh  
PROG.love.1.SG   tour  
'I love tours.'

**(28) 10, 10, 10**

behab                      aj-jowlaat  
PROG.love.1.SG   DEF-tour.PL  
'I love tours.'

**(29) 0, 3, 0**

behab                      jowlaat  
PROG.love.1.SG   tour.PL  
'I love tours.'

**(30) 0, 10, 8**

behab                      aruuh        fii        aj-jowleh  
PROG.love.1.SG   go.1.SG   on/in   DEF-tour  
'I love going on tours.'

**(31) 7, 10, 7**

beħab	aruuh	fii	jowleh
PROG.love.1.SG	go.1.SG	on/in	tour

‘I love going on tours.’

**(32) 5, 10, 8**

beħab	aruuh	fii	aj-jowlaat
PROG.love.1.SG	go.1.SG	on/in	DEF-tour.PL

‘I love going on tours.’

**(33) 8, 9, 7**

beħab	aruuh	fii	jowlaat
PROG.love.1.SG	go.1.SG	on/in	tour.PL

‘I love going on tours.’

Examples 26 and 27 pattern as would be expected—the speakers prefer the general noun marked with *al*, both in singular and plural. However, once the verb + preposition combination “go on” is added to the sentence, there seems to be a slight preference for the unmarked noun. When pressed about why this is, one consultant speculated that the phrase “go on + unmarked version of ‘tour’” is so commonly used that it no longer sounds bizarre—in fact, it is slightly preferred! While this does not explain why the unmarked version came to be used in the first place, it provides some insight into why it has come to sound correct. In any case, the important point is that, while marked nouns are preferred in many contexts, there are exceptions based on pragmatics and frequency of usage.

At first glance, this information indicates that *al* has two uses: as a generic and as a definite. However, it is possible to consolidate the two uses. *Al*’s generic use does not

necessarily mean it is an indefinite usage. If we look at generic nouns that permit the use of *al* as forming various “natural kinds” or “classes”, then *al*’s behavior is once again consistent with that of a definite marker. These “kinds” or “classes” might be constrained by culture, frequency of usage, etc. In any case, such concerns are beyond the scope of this paper. I will primarily focus on definites not used with generic nouns.

#### 4.2 *Al* Within the Construct State

Now let us consider *al* as it appears in a CS. When analyzing the “classic” case of the CS, *al* seems to be licensed on the embedded noun in situations similar to those as when it is attached to a freestanding noun (a noun not in CS).

##### (34) *Al With and Without Unique Human Referent*

Situation: I gave my consultants a context, then asked if the following sentence would be acceptable in said context:

fustaan    al-bint    helu    kθiir.  
 dress.CS   DEF-girl   pretty    very  
 ‘The girl’s dress is very pretty.’

**34.a Context:** There are many girls, all of which are wearing pretty dresses (I’m not looking at any particular girl). **Result:** Unacceptable for 3 out of 3 consultants.

**34.b Context:** There is a crowd of men and one girl wearing a dress. **Result:** Acceptable for 3 out of 3 consultants.

**(35)** *Al With and without Unique Non-Human Referent*

Situation: I gave my consultants a context, then asked if the following sentence would acceptable in said context:

sʰurit            atʰ-tʰayyaara    maʃhuura    kθiir.  
picture.CS    DEF-plane    famous.F    very  
‘The picture of the plane is very famous.’

**35.a Context:** We are in a museum, looking at beautiful photographs. There are 10 photographs of airplanes. We have not been talking about a specific plane, and I do NOT point to a particular one. **Result:** Unacceptable for 3 out of 3 consultants.

**35.b Context:** We are in a museum, looking at beautiful photographs. There is one and only one picture of an airplane. **Result:** Acceptable for 3 out of 3 consultants.

**(36)** *Al in a CS with a Generic Referent as the Embedded Noun*

Situation: I gave my consultants a context, then asked if the following sentence would acceptable in said context:

Qadeyat    az-ziraaʃa    sʰaʃba    ʃwayya.  
issue.CS    DEF-farming.F    difficult.F    a little/slightly  
‘The issue of farming is slightly difficult.’

**36.a Context:** We are talking about problems in our country. **Result:** Unacceptable for 2 out of 3 consultants, Possibly Acceptable for 1 out of 3 consultants.



**36.b Context:** We are talking about farming and its challenges. **Result:** Acceptable for 3 out of 3 consultants.

If the embedded noun is a proper noun—like a name—the ratings pattern in a parallel fashion to those of an embedded noun marked with *al*:

**(37)<sup>8</sup> Proper Noun as Embedded Noun in CS**

Situation: I gave my consultants a context, then asked if the following sentence would acceptable in said context:

utʔʔat    Iʃhaaq sooda.  
cat.CS   Isaac   black.F  
'Isaac's cat is black.'

**37.a Context:** Isaac has 3 cats, one of them is black. **Result:** Unacceptable for 2 out of 3 consultants, Acceptable for 1 out of 3 consultants.

**37.b Context:** Isaac has 1 black cat. **Result:** Acceptable for 3 out of 3 consultants.

In the case of 36, even though “farming” has no salient referent in our past discourse, it gets one possibly acceptable rating probably because it can be read as a generic noun. However, at first glance, the usage of *al* on an embedded noun in a CS patterns more or less like *al* on a noun not in a CS in regards to distribution and context—that is, it occurs when there is some unique or salient discourse referent. Section 6, which deals with data and analysis presented by Danon 2007, will show that this is a generalization that misses

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<sup>8</sup> Obviously, this example is different than those preceding it in that only *cat* is being evaluated in regards to whether it presupposes a unique discourse referent, whereas, arguably, the other examples evaluate whether both elements (one by necessity, the other by extension, as it is unlikely, say, for a girl to wear two dresses) require a unique discourse referent.

some important points, but it is a useful starting point.

### **5. Other Possible Readings/Danon's Four Different Readings**

The account of definiteness in the Arabic CS is not as straightforward as previous analyses have suggested (see section V and VI). Any analysis of the CS must account for all readings of definiteness on the various constituent elements that are possible in a given dialect. According to Danon 2008, there are in fact four different definiteness readings that can arise from a Construct State with a unique definiteness marking in Hebrew. It so happens that the same can be said about JBA in at least two of the cases, possibly in three or four.

Danon enumerates four different ways in which definiteness in a Hebrew Construct State can be interpreted:

- a. [+def] interpreted both on the embedded DP and on the CS as a whole**
- b. [+def] interpreted only on the embedded DP**
- c. [+def] interpreted only on the CS as a whole**
- d. [+def] not interpreted at all within the CS**

Examples from JBA exist that exemplify three of these readings.

#### **(a)**

The first way (a), in which [+def] is interpreted both on the embedded DP and on the CS as a whole, represents the prototypical CS, and, as Danon notes, is often the only reading analyzed in scholarly articles. There are plenty of examples to be found in JBA data:

**(38)** fustaan      el-bint   helu   kθiir

dress.CS def-girl nice very  
'The girl's dress is very pretty.'

- (39) ʕuyoon el-bint kbiira  
eyes.CS def-girl big.fem  
'The girl's eyes are big./The eyes of the girl are big.'

Some examples of (a) involve nouns that are not tangible:

- (40) haddahi yorfat an-nowm.  
this room DEF.sleep  
'This is a bedroom.'

In this instance, the CS in question is arguably a “frozen” form, like its compound word English counterpart, “bedroom”, or like two adjacent words that function as a unit, as in “lawn mower”. Whether it is or is not entirely compositional, it is clear that “sleep” refers to a general noun, which is, by definition, salient. As such, we can consider it an example of (a).

**(b)**

The second way in which definiteness can be read from a CS is such that [+def] is interpreted only on the embedded DP (b). This interpretation possibly does not translate into JBA, at least, not in all of the situations Danon proposes.

The following examples compare Danon's Hebrew examples of (b) with how my consultant would express a similar idea (I alternated between “city” and “country”, though it applies to both).

In Danon:

- (41) dan hu yelid ha-ir. (Modern Hebrew)  
Dan is native the-city  
'Dan is a native of the city.'

My consultant said that he would only use the phrase *ibn al-balad* (son DEF-country) in the context of explaining to someone a verse in which the phrase appeared. In other words, such a phrase would most likely be restricted to literature, and he would use other means to express the idea "a native of the country" or "a native of the city". Specifically:

- (42) Huwa mn el-medina  
he from DEF-city  
'He is from the city'

In a similar vein, I asked him how he would say "a settler of the city". I also gave him the phrase in Arabic and inquired after its acceptability. The following results were obtained:

- (43.a) huwa mustawt<sup>ʕ</sup>in fī al-medina  
he settler in DEF-city  
'He is a settler in the city./He is a settler of the city.'

Or:

- (43.b) huwa mustawt<sup>ʕ</sup>in bi el-medina  
he settler in DEF-city  
'He is a settler in the city./He is a settler of the city.'

The only difference between the two being the often interchangeable prepositions *fi* and *bi* and (the vowel change seen in *el* versus *al* has no semantic or syntactic consequences and is, I hypothesize, simply a phonological result of the difference between *fi* and *bi*).

Even when provided with a more “fleshed-out” context in which to interpret the CS in question—one that, in theory, should trigger a reading in which [+def] is only found on the first term of the CS—my consultants preferred to use alternate constructions. When asked how to say, in JBA, “I saw a settler of the city, and two others with him”, the following sentence was generated:

- (44) Ana ʃofet ez-zalama eli mustawtʕin fi/bi el-medina, wa kan maʕ-o  
 I saw DEF-guy which settler in/in DEF-city, and was with-him  
  
 aʃxas etnen  
 individuals two  
 ‘I saw a settler of the city, and two others with him.’

Just to ensure that the inability to use a CS in these cases was not an issue of noun category, I tested the rest of Danon’s examples. Where Hebrew has:

- (45) lifney ʃvuʕayim neʕecar saxkan ha-kvuca.  
 before two weeks arrested player the-team  
 ‘A player of the team was arrested two weeks ago.’

My consultant gave me:

- (46) fi laʕib masak-o eʃ-ʃortʕa mn el-fareeg  
 There is player grabbed-him DEF-police from DEF-team

‘A player of the team was arrested.’

Up till this point, it seemed that CSs in which [+def] would be interpreted only on the embedded noun were avoided by way of preposition use. However, the last of Danon’s examples for situation (b), which he took from Engelhardt 2007, does have a match in JBA. In Danon:

- (47) Ruti mevala et zmana be-ktivat ha-sefer.  
Ruti spends OM time.3SGFEM in- writing the-book  
‘Ruti spends her time writing the book.’

My consultant gave me:

- (48) Mario begad<sup>s</sup>i wagt-o bi grayeet el-ketaab  
Mario spends time-his in reading.CS DEF-book  
‘Mario spends his time reading the book.’

However, there is a complication concerning this example. Engelhardt and Danon’s justification for considering only the embedded DP in example 47 to be definite (meaning, the CS as a whole is not definite) is because in an otherwise identical sentence, the complement of the preposition *be* is indefinite:

- (49) ruti mevala et zmana be-/\*ba- ktiva.  
ruti spends OM time.3SGFEM in-/\*in.def- writing  
‘Ruti spends her time writing.’

Hebrew *be* is used when an indefinite noun follows, and *ba* when a definite noun follows

(it has, in a sense, a “built in” *ha*—the definite marker in Hebrew). The unacceptability of definite *ba* would lead us to predict that, if JBA has similar constraints on definiteness, as is often the case, a definite would not be permitted in the same location. However, this is not what I found. When given both options, my consultant preferred the sentence with a definite marker:

**\*(50.a)**        Mario    yegad<sup>ʕi</sup>    wagto    bi    grayeet  
                  Mario    spends    time-his    in    reading  
                  ‘Mario spends his time reading.’

As opposed to:

**(50.b)**        Mario    yegad<sup>ʕi</sup>    wagt-o    bi    l-grayeet  
                  Mario    spends    time-his    in    DEF-reading  
                  ‘Mario spends his time reading.’

My consultant preferred 50b. If *grayeet el-kitaab* as seen in example 48 really were interpreted such that *(el-)kitaab* was the only element interpreted as definite (meaning that the CS as a whole would be indefinite, as well as *grayeet*), then my consultant more likely would have preferred 50a than 50b. Therefore, we lack any definitive evidence that *grayeet el-kitaab* fits Danon’s definiteness interpretation schema in (b). In fact, the evidence from JBA suggests that the phrase in question might fit better under category (a).

None of this is proof that there is no (b) interpretation that exists in the CSs of JBA. Future research on this particular topic could include elicitation sessions that further delve into this particular case.

(c)

Interpreting [+def] on only the CS as a whole, and not on any of its individual elements, seems to be a possibility in JBA. Danon adopts Borer 1999 and Dobrovie-Sorin 2003 when he observes that embedded nominals (in a CS) that are “non-referential and denote properties” systematically result in definiteness interpreted only on the CS as a whole. He notes that, at first glance, this interpretation often seems like “double definiteness”, which would be reading [+def] on the each element of the CS. He summarizes this by observing that “definiteness systematically surfaces where both nominals are referential and where contextual and lexical factors induce a presupposition of uniqueness; in contrast, the embedded nominal is not interpreted as definite when it is non-referential” (880).

He provides the following examples to illustrate this point:

- (51)   tmunat ha-nasi       ʃe- al ha-kir   hudpesa be- hodu  
         picture the-president that on the-wall printed   in- India  
         ‘The president’s picture on the wall was printed in India.’

- (52a)   tmunat ha-yogi   ʃe- al ha-kir   hudpesa be- hodu  
         picture the-yogi that on the-wall printed   in- India  
         ‘The yogi’s picture/the picture of a yogi on the wall was printed in India.’

In 51, since both the president and the picture seem to carry uniqueness, [+def] seems to apply to both *picture* and *president*. However, in 52a, the interpretation is different. In the proper context, it seems reasonable to accept Danon’s second translation—“The



picture of a yogi on the wall was printed in India”—as accurate, which would mean that there is no contextually salient yogi in question. Similar sentences exist in JBA:

- (52b) s<sup>ʕ</sup>urat      aʃ-ʃeix      illi      3la el-jedran      jibt-ha      min      al-hind.  
 picture.CS DEF-sheikh which(DEF) on DEF-wall brought-it from DEF-India  
 ‘The picture of a sheikh on the wall, I brought it from India.’

My JBA consultant (and two speakers of two other dialects—Hijazi Arabic and Cairene Arabic) confirmed that in 52b, he need not know the sheikh (nor must there be a sheikh in the previous discourse) in question for the sentence to be acceptable. In such a case, it seems clear that definiteness is being interpreted on the CS as a whole.

**(d)**

The final case, in which [+def] is not interpreted at all within a CS or on the CS as a whole (d), may or may not occur in JBA. I have gotten mixed ratings concerning it. If it does in fact happen in JBA, I was not able to construe a context acceptable to all of my consultants 100% of the time. Consider the following contexts and sentences I provided my consultants:

**(53) *Preposition to Denote Possession/No [+def] Marking***

Situation: I gave my consultants the following context, then asked if I could use the sentence in question in such a context: I am bleeding. You ask me “What happened to you?” Can I say:

taʃθart      bi      ʃanʃa kbiire      li      tʕaalib

trip.PST.1.SG. on bag big at/to student"  
 I tripped on a student's big backpack."

In the situation in the example above, it is clear that there is no salient discourse referent for “bag” or “student”. Accordingly, all three consultants rated this sentence—in which there is no definiteness marking on “bag”, and in which possession is shown by means of a preposition—as acceptable. What is significant, however, and representative of Danon’s fourth case, can be seen in the following example, which, if acceptable, would mean that [+def] is not interpreted at all within the CS. Given the exact same context as the previous example:

**? (54) CS With Embedded *Al+Noun* but no [+def] Interpretation?**

taʕθart            bi    ʃenʔat    atʕ-tʕaalib    al-kbiire  
 trip.PST.1.SG. on bag DEF-student DEF-big  
 ‘I tripped on the big backpack of the student.’

Since this particular context calls for both nouns—“student” and “bag”—to be semantically indefinite, it would be interesting that if, in this context, JBA licensed a construction that is not only syntactically definite, but which can also be used in a semantically definite way in other contexts. During the first elicitation session, I recorded all three consultants as saying that this was acceptable.

Herein lies the problem: I do not think that such an utterance is felicitous. Upon reviewing it (the utterance in 54 with the no salient reference context) with one of the consultants, I doubt my initial results. He said that it would be weird to say this with *al*

on the word for “student” because there is no salient student.<sup>9</sup> I also asked a speaker of Hijazi Arabic, Palestinian Arabic, and Egyptian (Cairene) Arabic, and they all said that it would be somewhat strange to say this given the ambiguous context. The speaker of Hijazi Arabic (the dialect that is closest to that of my consultant) added that he would avoid the issue altogether by just saying “bag” as in “I tripped on a bag”—since there is no salient student, he said it would be superfluous to add that information. He did add something interesting, however. He said that *ʃenʔat atʕ-tʕaalib al-kbiire* is more acceptable than *ʃenʔat tʕaalib kbiire*—a combination he said was not preferred (though not totally incorrect). My consultant had no such problem with *ʃenʔat atʕ-tʕaalib al-kbiire*, but it still may be the case that adding an adjective to the definite CS makes is slightly more acceptable in the context. Unfortunately, I did not get the chance to re-check this sentence with this context with my other two consultants. For the purposes of this paper, I assume that it is likely not felicitous.

I also checked the sentences with a salient discourse referent context. Consultants were given the following:

**(55) *Preposition to Denote Possession/No [+def] Marking***

Situation: I gave my consultants the following context, then asked if I could use the sentence in question in such a context: “I am bleeding. You ask me “What happened to you?” I point to a student with backpack on.”

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<sup>9</sup> It is possible that I typed out my data incorrectly in the moment, or that I gave them a context that I can’t quite replicate. I doubt either of these things (though they are certainly possible). I think it is more likely that they were trying to be accommodating and since it is a nearly-perfect sentence, and since I was perhaps not clear that I was asking about definiteness on the embedded noun, they were being generous/kind in saying it was acceptable.

taʃθart        bi ʃaŋta kbiire li tʃaalib  
trip.PST.1.SG. on bag big at student  
‘I tripped on a student’s big backpack.’

This sentence—the exact same given in Example 55—was rated as totally incorrect by all three of my consultants. Given the new salient referent context—the consultants were presented with the same sentence as in the Example 53:

**(56) CS With Embedded *Al* + Noun With [+def] Interpretation**

taʃθarat        bi ʃeŋtat    atʃ-tʃaalib    al-kbiire  
trip.PST.1.SG on bag DEF-student DEF-big  
I tripped on the student’s big backpack.

Note that the exact same CS was used in examples 54 and 56. If the unlikely is true, and despite the difference in salient discourse referents, both were acceptable, then this could be taken as evidence that different contextual situations trigger different interpretations, *even though the syntax and semantics of ‘al’ remains the same*. It would be an interesting argument for the power of pragmatics in the willingness of speakers to accommodate definiteness.<sup>10</sup> As stated, though, I believe it improbable that such a statement is actually totally felicitous.

Though the Semantics section of this paper has already presented evidence that *al*

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<sup>10</sup> This is not without parallels in English, when a certain kind of relationship exists between the elements (as previously mentioned). If, for example, someone asks me where I am going, and I respond with “To see my brother—he just came in.” you need not know that I have a brother for me to licitly use “my”, even though possessives denote some sort of discourse salience.

denotes definiteness and has enumerated the environments in which it most often appears, to be extra certain that it was not just the case that Jordanian Arabic speakers strongly dislike using bare nouns, Example 57 was given to my consultants:

**(57)** *With and Without Al in Context With no Retrievable/Unique Referent:*

Situation: I gave my consultants the following context, then asked if I could use the sentences in question in such a context: I am bleeding. You ask me, “What happened to you?!” Can I say:

**(57.a)** Ana taʃθart bi el-ħajar  
I trip.PST.1.SG on DEF-stone  
‘I tripped on the rock’

**(57.b)** Ana taʃθart bi ħajar  
I tripped.PST.1.SG on stone  
‘I tripped on a rock’

My consultants preferred 57b, the response without a definiteness marking, which indicates that there was no preference for marked nouns that would have skewed the analysis of the examples presented above.

Even if Danon’s readings as represented in d.) are not found in JBA, we are still left with 2 out of 4 of the possible readings of definiteness in a CS. The existence of more than one interpretation of one type of construction begs the question: how is it possible for differing readings to arise? It is not likely that there is something different going on in

the syntax in each case, because that would require some sort of coordination between lexical category, context, and syntax—that is, that the context and the lexical category’s confluence would result in different syntactic operations concerning the [+def] marker, ‘al’.

Another explanation that might initially be tempting is to say that *al* does not truly mark definiteness, or, at least, that it is underspecified for definiteness. This too becomes problematic, though. Examples 23, 24, and 57 clearly show that *al* marks definiteness. So, there must be some other explanation, which we will return to later in the paper.

## 6. Syntax

Approaches to the syntax of CSs (thus far) have mostly fallen within the Generative Grammar Paradigm or Government-Binding Theory (Auon 1978; Borer 1988, 1996; Ouhalla 1991; Ritter 1991; Fehri 1993; Siloni 1997; Benmamoun 1997, 2000; Shlonsky 2004; etc.). Some have also attempted to account for the syntactic structure of the CS via the Minimalist Program (Danon, Shlonsky, Bardeas, and McNabb). This paper does not delve too deeply into the highly technical merits of one versus the other, but briefly provides an explanation of the different approaches. I largely rely on Danon 2007 for summaries of the majority of paradigms, which he has divided into four groups:

1. Agreement (Fassi Fehri, 1999; Ritter, 1991; Siloni, 1997)
2. Incorporation and word formation (Benmamoun, 2003; Borer, 1999)

3. Reentrancy and constraint-based approaches<sup>11</sup> (Falk, 2006; Wintner, 2000)

4. Semantic composition (Dobrovie-Sorin, 2000, 2003; Heller, 2002)

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Danon precedes to demonstrate why each of the four options alone does not satisfactorily account for what is commonly referred to as Definiteness Spreading (DS)—the phenomenon of what is seemingly one syntactic/semantic item appearing in more than one place. Since he does this with data from Hebrew, I will show that the same is true in JBA to the extent that all four of these unmodified possibilities do in fact fall short of a satisfying explanation. For a full critique of why each one falls short, see Danon 2006. In this paper, I will just list what I consider to be his most important questions for each theory in regards to my JBA data.

### 6.1 *Agreement*<sup>12</sup>

This account of DS in the CS provided by Ritter 1991 posits a functional projection below the DP and above the NP—NumP. She argues that a CS head moves from N' to D via Num, and the embedded genitive moves from the DP rightmost DP to the leftmost DP (which is a daughter of NumP). Many scholars—Benmamoun, Sadok, among others—have accepted this basic schema for the syntax, only differing slightly in the number of functional nodes posited:

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<sup>11</sup> This approach will be limited to a footnote in this paper.

<sup>12</sup> For the complete arguments for Agreement, see Fehri 1999, Ritter 1991, and Siloni 1997.

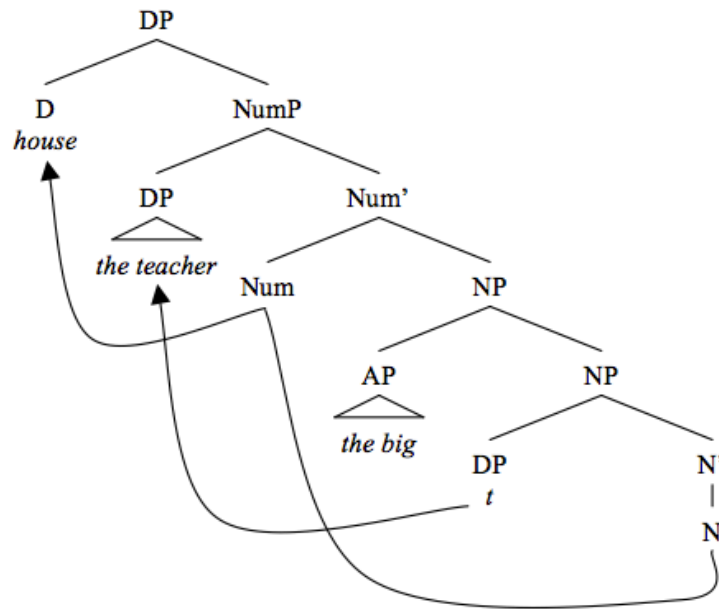


Figure 2: Al-Khatib 2007 Tree of CS with AP, Based Tree Posited in Ritter 1991

For my purposes, I assume that the syntactic structure/movement this tree posits is correct.

Note: I leave it as an open question as to the exact mechanics involved in *al* “knowing” to attach to the embedded DP.<sup>13</sup> My initial explanation was that there is a rule in the syntax that states that *al* attaches to the lowest DP. However, I have been informed that within the Minimalist program, there is not really a mechanism by which a such a thing could happen—the grammar does not see “higher or lower” on a tree, it just sees category. As such, a rule like this would result in the *al* attaching to any DP it sees. Clearly, this area

<sup>13</sup> It is very possible that some of the authors I have cited have such an explanation in one of their works, and I just missed it.



of my account needs developing.

Most analyses that rely on Agreement then say that spec-head agreement motivates the definiteness of the embedded noun (i.e. the DP) to be transferred, as it were, to the other element in the CS—the head. The agreeing nodes are both interpreted as definite.

Danon's main issue with this exact version of Agree is that it does not correctly account for the semantics of all instances of the CS. Since JBA has two different readings of definiteness of the CS, this problem initially seems to apply to JBA too.

## 6.2 *Incorporation and Word Formation*<sup>14</sup>

Benmamoun 2003 in his entry in the *Journal of Arabic Linguistics* notes that the prosody of a CS is word-like and is just one unit at the level of phonetic form (PF). As such, he stipulates that the definiteness feature of the one element must be shared with another.

Danon's (and my) problem with this explanation is that it does not explain why the number feature does not also spread from word to word: for instance, *s<sup>ʕ</sup>uraat at<sup>ʕ</sup>-t<sup>ʕ</sup>ayaara* (glossed as *picture.PL.CS DEF-planes*) is most certainly not interpreted as 'the pictures of the planes', but rather as 'pictures of the plane'. This is not proof against his hypothesis, of course, but the discrepancy between definiteness and number sharing should be accounted for somehow.

## 6.3 *Reentrancy and Constraint-Based Approaches*<sup>15 16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> For more on this approach, see Borer 1999, or Benmamoun 2003.

Danon's biggest issue with this approach is one my data shares—that is, that it just isn't quite specific enough in showing how the shared definiteness can be interpreted in the four different ways (three, in JBA) that it can.

#### 6.4 *Semantic Approaches*<sup>17</sup>

Dobrovie-Sorin 2000 and 2003 contends that there need not be a syntactic operation to account for what appears to be definiteness spreading. This argument and others that fall in line with it posit that a CS head is a function mapping one individual to another. The specific relationship between the components of a CS is either encoded by the very meaning of the word (like “owner” or “step-child”) or can be determined from context. So, as Danon summarizes, “A function applied to the denotation of a definite DP, which itself must be unique in the given context, would give another unique individual.” In this way, the embedded nominal—which is definite because it is marked as such (in JBA's case, with *al* or a possessive pronoun), takes care of itself. The head of a CS is definite because, as a function of type  $\langle e, e \rangle$ , it picks out a unique individual each time it is applied.<sup>18</sup> Both of these factors combined account for what appears to be DS.

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<sup>15</sup> For more on this approach, see Wintner 2000, Sadler 2000, or Falk 2006.

<sup>16</sup> These approaches fall under the HPSG theory. The way such a theory would work with a CS is this: the head of CS is generated with the extra instructions that the head of a CS be reentrant with the embedded definite noun—i.e., that the definiteness that appears on the embedded noun have the same definiteness values that appears on the CS head and is not a copy.

<sup>17</sup> For more on this approach, see Dobrovie-Sorin 2000, 2003, or Heller 2002.

<sup>18</sup> A function of type  $\langle e, e \rangle$ , by nature of being a function, necessarily maps to a unique individual. Uniqueness is often viewed as a requisite of definiteness. As such, such a function works for the classic cases of CS.

This approach works wonderfully for CSs that are interpreted in the “classic” way (see section 6 for more on the different ways a CS can be interpreted):

- (58) *sayarat az-zalame: f(x)*, where  $f$ =car-of &  $x$ =[[the guy]]  
 car.CS DEF-guy  
 ‘the guy’s car’

However, as Danon notes, this theory is unable to account for evidence of a syntactic component. In JBA, as in Hebrew, any adjective that modifies the CS must be marked with definite *al*. Furthermore, while JBA does not have a marker for definite objects like Hebrew *et*, JBA does have a complementizer—*illi*—which must be used in situations like the following example:

- (59.a) El-yowm ana ʃoft el-madrasa illi darasti fi-ha.  
 DEF-day I saw DEF-school which you studied.FEM in-it  
 ‘Today I saw the school which you studied in.’

- \*(59.b) El-yowm ana ʃoft el-madrasa darasti fi-ha.  
 DEF-day I saw DEF-school you studied in-it.  
 ‘Today I saw the school in which you studied.’

Example 59b is ungrammatical because it lacks a definite complementizer.

The same is true with sentences with a CS interpreted as definite:

(59.c) El-yowm ana ʃoft sʕaahib al-maḥal illi yibiʕ ʃneeneh.  
 Def-day I saw owner DEF-store which sells shneeneh.  
 ‘Today I saw the owner of the store which sells shneeneh (Bedouin milk drink).’

\*(59.d) \*El-yowm ana ʃoft sʕaahib al-maḥal yibiʕ ʃneeneh.  
 Def-day I saw owner DEF-store sells shneeneh.  
 ‘Today I saw the owner of the store which sells shneeneh.’<sup>19</sup>

These two things alone are enough to challenge a view that semantics alone can account for the CS. A semantic analysis alone the lines of that put forth by Dobrovie-Sorin does not explain the necessity of purely syntactic elements for grammaticality—namely, that of adjective agreement in definiteness and the definite complementizer. Beyond this, though, such an account is only able to explain a CS in which both elements are interpreted as definite. As will be demonstrated in section 6, this is not always the case—in fact, in Hebrew there are three other patterns of interpretation, and in JBA there are at least two others.

The final objection put forth by Danon to this analysis is not quite as strong in regards to JBA, but still applicable. Danon points out that many CSs are, in Hebrew at least, a “reflex of agreement”:

(60) ani sone et ha-anaʃim xasrey ha-buʃa ha-ele.  
 I hate OM the-people lacking the-shame the-these  
 ‘I hate these shameless people.’

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<sup>19</sup> This sentence would be grammatical but only if it is interpreted to mean something very different: “Today I saw the owner of the store selling shneeneh”.

This is an adjectival modifier acting as the head of the CS. The equivalent in Arabic is the “False CS” or *id‘aafa yeyr haqiiqiya* (see Appendix Section IV). While these configurations—CSs with adjectives as heads—are not used in JBA per se, they are a mark of an upper register of speech—that of MSA—and, as such, and not ungrammatical. So, this argument does apply to JBA to a degree.<sup>20</sup>

Danon then presents his alternative for these suggestions—a solution that falls within the Minimalist program, but deviates from that of Chomsky. He posits that Agree, in this case, is a feature-sharing operation. He then accounts for his data—including the CSs whose definiteness is interpreted in ways other than the classic CS way—by using that assumption.

### 6.5 *An Alternative Account*

I account for the various interpretations in a different way. As mentioned, I essentially adopt the basic movement schema presented in Figure 2, as well as the concept of Definiteness Spreading as put forth by Ritter. Unlike Danon, though, I account for the differing interpretations by pragmatics and lexical information alone.

I think that once spec-head agreement causes the definiteness feature of the embedded DP to be transferred to the head, both elements do carry the [+def] feature. However, sometimes such CSs are interpreted in ways outside of the classical case because certain

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<sup>20</sup> Dobrovie-Sorin does address some of these concerns in her 2003 paper.

semantic relationships that involve uniqueness—whether derived from the two elements themselves (like “mother” and “daughter”) or from context—are more likely to be accommodated. Consider the following two examples:

**(61)** *Accommodating Uniqueness Without a Salient Discourse Referent*

Situation: We are talking at work. You ask me if I want to get a dinner. You do not know if I have any siblings or not. You ask, “Would you like to grab dinner after this?” I respond with:

I’m sorry I can’t, my brother is in town.

**(62)** *Accommodating Uniqueness Without a Salient Discourse Referent*

Situation: We are talking at a park. You ask me if I want to get a dinner. You do not know if my boss has any children or what they do in their free time. You ask, “Would you like to grab dinner soon?” I respond with:

I’m sorry I can’t, I’m going to see the soccer game of my boss’s daughter.

In both examples, though there is no salient referent, it is not infelicitous to use a pronoun that presupposes uniqueness (“my”) or a definite article that does the same (“the”). It is noteworthy to point out that, in a similar way, the embedded DP of a CS can be a noun with *al* prefixed to it or a noun with a possessive pronoun suffixed to it. In either case, the definiteness contributed to the noun by *al* or the possessive pronoun has the capability of rendering the entire CS definite.

My argument, then, is that even though *al* certainly marks definiteness, and even though it does spread its definiteness to other members of the CS, the contexts in which the CS is used increase the likelihood of accommodating a definiteness feature where we normally would not. In the case of the CS, this usually means accommodating definiteness (which appears post-DS spreading as a result of spec-head agreement) on the head of the CS (although, in some contexts, such as example 56, on both elements of the CS). Furthermore, the majority of CSs (those certainly not all) denote some sort of vaguely possessive relationship—a type of construction for which we are often happy to accommodate definiteness.

It is also necessary to briefly discuss the syntactic category of *al*. I argue that it is not, in fact, a definite article—as it is often called in popular Arabic textbooks—but that it is instead a definiteness morpheme. Furthermore, in accordance with Borer (1988, 1999), Danon (2001, 2007), Falk (2006), Siloni (1997), Wintner (2000) and others, I consider *al* to be, as Danon 2007 describes, “the morphological realization of a morphosyntactic definiteness feature, [+def], rather than an independent syntactic head”<sup>21</sup>. As Danon (2007) notes, one argument for this point of view is that it allows us to analyze the agreement in definiteness between nouns and modifying adjectives as an instance of concord—i.e., “derived using the same mechanism that accounts for gender and number concord between nouns and adjectives.” This can be seen by the infelicity of 63a in the following example:

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<sup>21</sup> Danon does refer to *al* as the definite article throughout his 2007 paper, but I suspect this is less of a theoretical stance and more of a convention adopted for convenience.

**\*(63.a)**      \*bid<sup>22</sup>di    aḥkiy   mʕa   el-bint    lat<sup>ʕ</sup>iifa  
                  I want talk   with   DEF-girl   nice.F  
                  ‘I want to talk with the nice girl.’

**(63.b)**      bid<sup>22</sup>di    aḥkiy   mʕa   el-bint    el-lat<sup>ʕ</sup>iifa  
                  I want   talk   with   DEF-girl   DEF-nice  
                  ‘I want to talk with the nice girl.’

Additionally, though this is far from proof in and of itself, as Benmamoun notes, the CS tends to behave as one prosodic unit. This seems much more probable for a construction in which two words are linked by a morpheme, rather than a construction in which three words are linked.

In addition to all of this, *al* co-occurs (with no intervening words like “of”) with *shwayya* ‘few’, *bʕad<sup>ʕ</sup>* ‘some’, *haddhi/haddha/hadool* ‘this’ (feminine singular, masculine singular, and plural<sup>23</sup>), and *kul* ‘all’. Such behavior is not something typically associated with definite articles.

#### *Al Co-occurring with Few, Some, This, and All*

**(64)**    ʕat<sup>ʕ</sup>ini      ʃwayyit      el-ʕinab    hadool.  
                  give.IMP   a few.CS   DEF-grapes   those  
                  ‘Give me a few of those grapes.’

**(65)**    bʕad<sup>ʕ</sup>   at<sup>ʕ</sup>- t<sup>ʕ</sup>ulaab      yihebu-ha  
                  some   DEF-students   like-her

<sup>22</sup> Technically, JBA for “want” is *widdi*, but they use *bid<sup>22</sup>di* occasionally even in speech that is otherwise JBA. In any case, I did not know this at the time of elicitation.

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that *hadool*—“this” for plurals—is much preferred after *al*+noun.



‘Some of the students like her.’

- (66) hadhhi el-bint ʃaatʕr-a.  
this DEF-girl clever.FEM  
‘This girl is clever.’

- (67) hadhha el-walad ʃaatʕer.  
this DEF-boy clever  
‘This boy is clever.’

- (68) kul an-naas yihebu Umm Koulsom.  
all DEF-people like Umm Koulsom.  
‘All people/Everyone likes Umm Koulsom.’

## 7. Notes on “A Little” and “A Lot”

The JBA words for “a little” and “a lot” can, like other quantifiers, serve as the head of the CS. However, in JBA (and likely in other dialects of Arabic), “a little” and “a lot” pattern in ways that are somewhat different from those of other CS heads. In the Appendix, the section entitled **ii. Quantifiers** contains all of the data I elicited pertaining to their distribution and usage. Here, we will limit our treatment to one or two examples that are representative of each usage.

It is first necessary to note that there are in fact (at least) three different ways to express “a little/a few” in JBA: ʃwayya/-it, ʃwai, and *gleel*. Of the three, only the first and the last have the capability to be the head of a CS. ʃwai appears to be limited to adjective modification only.

The most commonly used quantifier, *ʃwayya*, can be used in many contexts. It can serve as an adverb, and modify some action:

(69)

wat<sup>ʕ</sup>                      as<sup>ʕ</sup>-s<sup>ʕ</sup>owt    ʃwayya!  
 turn.down.IMP   DEF-sound   a little  
 ‘Turn down the sound/volume a little!’ (To a male)

As would be expected, in such a role, *ʃwayya* cannot be used in the form it appears in when the head of a CS—*ʃwayyit*—or the sentence is rendered ungrammatical (my consultants all the gave following a 0 out of 10, 0 being totally incorrect, 10 being perfect):

(70)

wat<sup>ʕ</sup>                      as<sup>ʕ</sup>-s<sup>ʕ</sup>owt    ʃwayyit!  
 turn.down.IMP   DEF-sound   a little.CS  
 ‘Turn down the sound/volume a little!’ (To a male)

*ʃwayya* can also be used to modify a predicative adjective that is used as the complement of the subject:

(71)

huwa ʃwayya mazaʃj.  
 he        a little   annoying  
 ‘He is a little annoying.’

It is interesting to note that in the above example, *ʃwayya* or *ʃwai* can be used to modify the adjective immediately following. My consultant gave the sentence a 10. However, when the order of the modifier and the adjective is switched, something else occurs:

\*(72)

huwa mazaʃj ʃwayya.  
 he annoying a little  
 ‘He is a little annoying.’

*ʃwayya* cannot be used to modify the adjective if it follows the adjective. However:

(73)

huwa mazaʃj ʃwai  
 he annoying a little  
 ‘He is a little annoying.’

If *ʃwai* instead of *ʃwayya* is used to modify the adjective that it immediately follows, the sentence gets a respectable rating of 8. It is not immediately clear why this is the case. That being said, I will put forth a hypothesis based on intuitions about *ʃwayya*’s role in CSs. Unfortunately, the historical evidence needed to prove this hypothesis is beyond the scope of this paper.

It is clear from their phonological similarity and relatively similar meanings that *ʃwayya* and *ʃwai* are etymologically related. However, their distribution differs in important ways. In addition to the previously described difference in permissibility of position when modifying adjectives, *ʃwayya* can be the head of a CS while *ʃwai* never occurs as such.

Due to this difference, I speculate that *huwa ʃwayya mazaʃj* is acceptable but *huwa mazaʃj ʃwayya* is not because the former seems more “natural” insofar as it mimics the form of a CS with *ʃwayya* as the head (both CSs with and without *al*). Furthermore, though not present in JBA, Modern Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic—to which Bedouins are exposed in the form of the Qur’an, news, speeches, literature, and certain formal settings—has a construction referred to as *idʿaafa yeyr haqiqiya* (see Appendix section iv) or a “False Construct State” (a construction found in Hebrew as well). In such CSs, a degree modifier is often the head of a CS:

(74)

huwa kθiir     al-kalaam  
 he     lot.CS     DEF-speech  
 ‘He is talkative.’<sup>24</sup>

It is not unreasonable, then, to hypothesize that, while *ʃwayya* would not normally be used to modify a predicate adjective that is a complement to the subject—and in fact, is prohibited from doing so when occurring after said adjective—the similarity in appearance of *ʃwayya* + adjective to a CS with *ʃwayya* as the head, and the existence in other registers of degree modifier or adjective + [def]-noun, makes the construction familiar enough to be acceptable. More historical evidence would be needed to corroborate and confirm this hypothesis in any meaningful way.

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<sup>24</sup> Note that in a “False CS” the embedded noun must be marked with *al*.

There is one other notable restriction on *ʃwayya*—it seems that in JBA it is not preferred when quantifying humans (in or out of a CS). For example:

(75)

*ʃwayyit naas bihebu Umm Koulosom*  
 few.CS people IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulosom  
 ‘Few people like Umm Koulosom.’

got a rating of 5 from one consultant. That same consultant told me that instead of *ʃwayyit*, they would use:

*naas gleel*  
 people few  
 ‘few people’

or

*mosh kθiir*  
 not many  
 ‘not many’

For more examples of this sort, see the aforementioned section of the Appendix.

In a CS, *ʃwayyit* can be used to quantify both mass and count nouns—usually by way of a CS without *al*. An important bit of information to keep in mind for the following examples is that, owing to the way Bedouins prepare beans (namely, mashed/blended with spices), they are not, as they are a mass noun, not a count noun. Grapes, however, are exactly what one would expect—a count noun.

(76)

Biddi *ʃwayyit fuul*.  
 I want a little.CS beans.  
 ‘I want a little beans.’

(77)

ʕatʕi-ni        ʃwayyit ʕinab.  
IMP.give-me a few.CS    grapes.  
‘I want a little.’

Note that my choice to translate ʃwayyit as “a little” in the first example and “a few” in the second example is just a reflection of how we distinguish between quantifying mass versus count nouns in English.

In the proper context, it is even possible to see ʃwayyit as the head of a CS with *al* on the embedded noun:

(78) *A Little as Head of a CS with Embedded al+Noun*

Situation: Suppose there is a bowl of grapes on the table. I point to them and say:

Biddi ʃwayyit el-ʕinab    hadool.  
I want a few.CS    DEF.grapes    those  
‘I want a few of those grapes.’

I have only found instances of a quantifier + *al*-noun in cases such this.

In fact, I believe it possible that ʃwayyit *el-ʕinab* and other CSs in which the head is a quantifier and the embedded noun is marked with *al* only occur when followed by a determiner, like “this” (*haadha*, *haadhi*, or *hadool*). More data would be needed to confirm this, but it does in fact match with intuitions of speakers of dialects close to JBA.

Additional data supports the hypothesis that the CS is a morphological reflex of a syntactic configuration. However, it appears that even though a trace of the nouns is

kept, topicalizing the embedded noun “breaks” the CS, so to speak. Consider the following examples, in which the object argument *grapes* (*ʕinab*) has been topicalized:

**(79) *Topicalization of Embedded Noun:***

Situation: I ask you to list everything you’ve eaten. I ask at the end, “Wait, you didn’t eat any grapes?” Can you say:

**(79.a)**

ʕinab? Akalt ʃwayya.  
grapes? I ate a little  
;Grapes? I ate a little/a few.’

**(79.b)**

ʕinab? Akalt ʃwayyit.  
grapes? I ate a little.CS  
‘Grapes? I ate a little/a few.’

**(79.c)**

ʕinab, akalt ʃwayya min-u  
grapes, I ate a little of-it.  
‘Grapes, I ate a few of them.’

In these examples, i received a 10, ii a 0, and iii a 10. In i, ʃwayya lacks the clitic marker *-t* that demarcates its status as being that of the head of a CS. When the clitic is preserved but *grapes* becomes topicalized, the sentences becomes ungrammatical. The relationship between the two components is the same, but, as they are not longer adjacent, the CS morphology is not generated.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to elicit similar data with “a lot”. This could be an area of future inquiry.

Finally, there are some interesting phenomena to be observed in relationship to *al* and order when “a little” and “a lot” occur with the noun “water” (*maya*). While this can all found in the Appendix under Part Two of ii Quantifiers, I will reproduce all of my data on the topic within the paper itself in this one instance. The ratings next to each example number are from each consultant:

**(80) 10, 10, 10**  
 ʃwayyit mayya  
 little.CS water  
 ‘a little water’

**(81) 5, 3, 7**  
 kθiirat mayya  
 lot.CS water  
 ‘a lot of water’

**(82) 7, 3, 0**  
 ʃwayya mayya  
 little water  
 ‘a little water’

**(83) 0, 0, 0**  
 kθiira mayya  
 lot water  
 ‘a lot of water’

**(84) 5, 6, 4**  
 ʃwayyit al-mayya  
 little.CS DEF.water  
 ‘a little of the water (I think the water has to be known or specified)’



(85) 7, 7, 8

kθiirit al-mayya  
lot.CS DEF.water  
'a lot of the water'

(86) 0, 3, 5

mayya ∫wayya  
water little  
'a little water'

(87) 9, 3, 10

mayya kθiira  
water lot  
'a lot of water'

There are some obvious flaws in my methodology. I presented these phrases to my consultants, and asked them to rate their correctness. We discussed contexts in which each would be possible. Much to my chagrin, I neglected to note down all of said contexts. If I had the opportunity to do it again, I would of course be more diligent in this regard.

In any case, it is interesting to note the differences in permissible distribution of “a little” and “a lot”, and the acceptability of using the *al* with them. It seems, for instance, that it is better for the quantifier “a lot” to come after the indefinite water when the quantifier is “a lot”, but better for it to come before *al*-water. Conversely, it is much preferable for the quantifier “a little” to occur before indefinite water, in a CS. There seems to be higher acceptance for a CS with no *al* when “a little” is the head versus when “a lot” is the head.

However, when the CS has *al*, it seems that it is more acceptable for “a lot” to be the head than “a little”.

Ultimately, it is probably useless to compare the two. They are, after all, separate words. Both have somewhat idiosyncratic distributions with regards to “water” as the embedded noun (I do not know if this applies to other nouns). While it is impossible, based on the data, to confidently state why this is the case, it is possible that repeated usage of such a common phrase has lead to irregularities becoming frozen in place. In any case, quantifier “a little” (and, from the data I did obtain, “a lot”) can and do occur regularly as heads of CSs.

## **8 . Conclusions**

My analysis, then, is that definiteness spreading does indeed happen along the lines proposed by proposed by the Minimalist school (that is, by way of spec-head agreement). I account for the various readings of the CS presented by Danon by appealing to pragmatics and our willingness to accommodate definiteness in certain contexts and in situations where there is a sort of concrete or abstract possessive relationship. Certainly, it might be said that such an approach is unfalsifiable—pragmatics could always be argued to be adequate for definiteness accommodation. However, this approach is appealing in that it allows us to adopt the fairly straightforward Minimalist syntactic approach, stick to the intuition that *al* does mark definiteness, and still account for the range in interpretation of definiteness in the CS.

## 9. Bibliography

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- Roberts, Craige. 2003. Uniqueness in Definite Noun Phrases. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26:287-350.
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## Appendix: Data

NOTES:

- *Notation:*

This is not written in IPA. A doubled vowel doesn't signal a geminate, it stands for a long vowel (so aa= ā). 6, 3, 5, 7, gh, S, D, and DH all stand for Arabic sounds not present in English:

$$3 = \zeta = \xi$$
$$7=\hbar=\tau$$
$$5 = x/\chi = \dot{\chi}$$
$$gh = \gamma / \kappa = \dot{\xi}$$
$$6=t^5=2$$

S=s<sup>f</sup>= ص

$$D=d^{\mathfrak{f}}=\text{ض}$$
$$DH = \delta f = 2$$
$$dh = \delta = \dot{z}$$

Note also that, as stated in the Background section, *g* is the JBA realization of Modern Standard Arabic *q* (ق).

### i. Elicitation with Pictures

*In this section, I showed subjects the picture included under each number, and the subjects described what was occurring in the picture.*

NOTES:

- Subject order: Kh-N-M
- Subject Kh occasionally slips the *bi-* indicative prefix of the urban dialect into her speech.
- Since I just requested of my consultants that they describe the scene, some of the responses are not complete sentences.

1.)



walad yakul            burtugaan  
boy eat.3.M.SG orange  
'A boy is eating an orange.'

walad yokil            burtugaan  
boy eat.3.M.SG. orange  
'A boy is eating an orange.'

walad yokil            burtugaan  
boy eat.3.M.SG orange  
'A boy is eating an orange.'

2.)



mwaDHeef a6-6ayaaran tirkab bi 6ayyaara  
 employee DEF.plane mount.3.SG.F in plane  
 ‘The/An employee gets on a plane.’  
 [The vs. an is not clear here]

wa7ada msaafra  
 one.F traveler.F  
 ‘Someone is traveling.’

mara daa5ila 3la 6ayyaara  
 woman enterer.F on plane  
 ‘A woman enters a plane.’

3.)



karikatar ithnayn yethowashu m3a b3aD  
 cartoon.PL two fight.3.M.SG.RECP with together  
 ‘Two cartoons fight each other.’

hosha—wa7ad yuDrub bi wa7ad  
 fight—one hit.3.M.SG on one  
 ‘A fight—one hits the other.’

ithnayn yithawush  
 two fight.3.M.PL.RECP  
 ‘Two fight each other.’

4.)



wa7ad raakib 3la 7assan momkin yikoon siibaag  
 one rider on horse maybe it-is.3.SG race  
 ‘Someone is riding on a horse, maybe it is a race.’

haddha wa7ad raakib 7assan—5ayyal  
 this one rider horse—fantasy  
 ‘This guy is riding a horse—fantasy.’ (I think he means like a fairy tale)

zalama raakib 3la 7assan  
 man rider on horse  
 ‘A man is riding on a horse.’

5.)



id-dinnya shita fa 7a6 jarayiid badl min ash-shemsiyye  
 DEF.world rainy so put.3.SG.PST newspaper.PL instead of DEF.umbrella  
 ‘The weather conditions are rainy so he put newspapers instead of an umbrella.’

wa7ad yemshi bi shita2  
 one walk.3.SG. in rain  
 ‘Someone is walking in the rain.’

zalame yi7mi 7aalo min ash-shita2  
 man protect.3.SG condition.his from DEF.rain  
 ‘A man protects himself from the rain.’

6.)



ithnayn yel3abu sha6aranj  
 two play.3.PL.M chess  
 ‘Two are playing chess.’

ithnayn ga3adiin<sup>26</sup> yel3abu sha6aranj  
 Two sitter.PL play.3.PL.M chess  
 ‘Two are playing chess.’

ithnayn yel3abu sha6aranj  
 two play.3.PL.M. chess  
 ‘Two are playing chess.’

7.)



<sup>26</sup> As mentioned in the Background section, *ga3adiin* is the plural active participle (verbal noun) of “sit”. JBA uses this verbal noun (conjugated to match gender and number) to express the indicative instead of the *bi-* prefix found in many other dialects.

yergsu ballet, raqsat ballet, wa7ad wa wa7ada  
 dance.3.M.PL ballet, dance.CS ballet one and one.F  
 ‘They dance ballet, a ballet dance, someone and someone.’

Fii ithnayn wa7ad wa wa7ada ga3adiin yrugsu  
 there are two one and one.F sitter.PL dance.3.M.PL  
 ‘There are two, someone and someone, they are dancing.’

zalama wa mara yergus  
 man and woman dance.3.M.PL  
 ‘A man and a woman dance.’

8.)



wa7ad yi6fi bi shomoor momkin yikoon fi kaneesa aw makaan mu3ayin  
 one extinguishes.3.SG candles maybe he-is in church or place specific  
 ‘Someone puts out candles, maybe he is in a church or a particular place.’

wa7ada ga3ada tit2amal  
 one sitter.F meditate.3.SG  
 ‘Someone is (in the process of) meditating.’

marā tid3iy—marā aw zalama  
 woman prays—woman or man  
 ‘A woman prays—a woman or a man.’

9.)





magmu3a zlaam wa niswaan wagfiin ma3 b3aD 5a6  
 group men and women stander.PL with together line  
 'A group of men and women are standing together in a line.'

magmu3at naas, shebab wa banaat, maskiin iidayn ba3D  
 group.CS people boys and girls, holder.PL hand.PL together  
 'A group of people, boys and girls, holding hands together.'

3aileh sa3eedeh  
 family happy.F  
 'A happy family.'

10.)



mubarat korat al-qadam  
 match.CS ball.CS DEF.foot  
 'A soccer match.'

korat al-qadam, ithnayn ga3adiin yel3abu  
 ball.CS DEF.foot, two sitter.PL play.3.M.PL  
 'A football match, two are (in the process of) playing.'

korat al-qadam mubarat korat al-qadam  
ball DEF.foot match.CS ball DEF.foot  
'Soccer, a soccer match.'

11.)

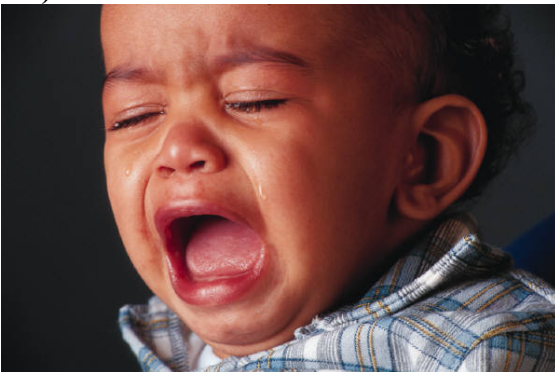


bissa wa kalb naayimiin wa hadhha shay ghariib m3a b3aD  
kitty and dog sleeper.PL and this thing strange with together  
'A kitty and a dog are sleeping and this is something strange, together.'

bissa wa kalb naayimiin, 7elwa hay  
kitty and dog sleeper.PL sweet this  
'A kitty and a dog are sleeping, this is sweet.'

kelb wa bissa naayimiin  
dog and kitty sleeper.PL  
'A dog and a kitty are sleeping.'

12.)



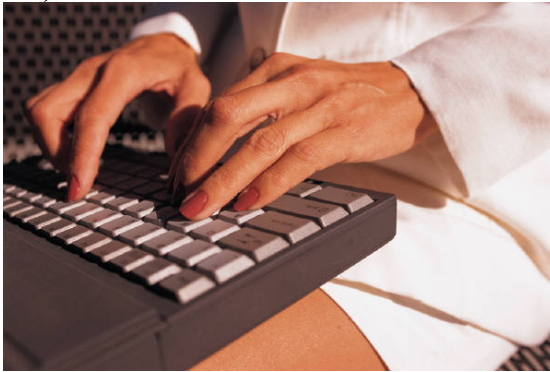
Surit walad SZgiir yebki ubSaar shu as-sabab momkin huwa jow3an  
picture.CS boy small cry ? what DEF-cause maybe he hungry

momkin bid do umm-o mish 3arifiin shu as-sabab  
maybe he wants mom-his don't knower.PL what DEF-cause  
'A picture of a small boy crying ? what the reason, maybe huw is hungry, maybe he  
wants his mom, we don't know what the reason is.'

walad ga3ad yebki  
boy sitter cry.3.SG  
'A boy is crying.'

walad yebki  
boy cry.3.SG  
'A boy cries.'

13.)



wa7ida bitishtugal 3la al-laptop, 3la al-computer y3ni  
one.F PROG.work.3.SG.F on DEF.laptob, on DEF.computer I-mean  
'Some female is working on a laptop, you know, like on a computer.'

wa7ida ga3ada ti6ba3  
one.F sitter.F type.3.SG.F  
'Some female is typing.'

zalama bi6ba3  
man type.3.SG.M  
'A man is typing.'

14.)



Sibaag biskiletaat  
 race.CS bicycle.F.PL  
 'A bicycle race.'

haadhha sibaag biskiletaat  
 this race.CS bicycle.F.PL  
 'This is a bicycle race.'

zlaam 3la biskileyt  
 men on bicycle.PL  
 'Men are on bicycle.'

15.)



7ariig, fii naas yi6afo fi el-7ariig fi el-beyt  
 fire there are people put-out.3.PL DEF.fire in DEF.house  
 'Fire, there are people putting out the fire in the house.'

fii 7ariig wa ga3adiin yi6fo bi al-7ariig

there is fire and sitter.M.PL put-out.3.M.PL DEF.fire  
 'There is a fire and they are (in the process of) putting out the fire.'

rajul i6fa ga3ad i6aaf in-naar  
 man put-out.3.M.SG. sitter put-outer DEF.fire  
 'A man is puts out, he's putting out the fire.'

16.)



shekelhum rijaal 3amal naazliin 3la dawaamhum aw shughulhum  
 form.their men.PL.CS work descend on shift.their or work.their  
 'They seem like working men going to their shift or job.'

Haadhool ithnayn muwaDHafiin shaarika wa raa7iin 3la shughulhum  
 these two employee.PL company and goer.PL on work.their  
 These two are company employees (employees of a company) and they are going to their work.

rijaal 3aaml yimshun  
 man.PL.CS work walk.3.M.SG  
 'Working men walking.'

17.)



mu5tabar wa doktora fi al-mu5tabar bit3amil momkin shwayit i5tibaraat  
lab and doctor.F in DEF.lab PROG.do.3.F.SG maybe a-little.CS experiments  
'A lab, and a Doctor in the lab, maybe doing some experiments.'

mu5tabaraat y3amil ta7aliil 6ibbiyya  
lab.PL do.3.M.SG analysis medical  
'Labs, (he is) doing medical analysis'

zalameh y3aml ba7th  
man do.3.SG research  
'A man does research.'

18.)



salaam wa at-tawag3 liano iiyd sowda wa iiyd bayDa al3ashan at-temiyz  
al-3uSnoriy  
peace and DEF.agreement because hands black and hands white because  
DEF.discrimination DEF.racial  
'Peace and agreement because it's black and white hands, because of racial  
discrimination.'

ithnayn bisalamu 3la ba3DH  
two PROG.greet.3.M.PL on together  
'Two greet each other.'

zlaam yisalimo 3la ba3DH  
man.PL greet.3.M.PL on together  
‘Men greet each other.’

19.)

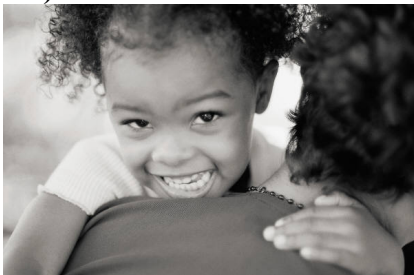


Doktora momkin bi jami3a tilgiy mu7aaDara  
doctor maybe in university throw lecture  
‘A doctor, maybe in a university, giving a lecture.’

ustaadha tishra7 bi al-mu7aaDara  
teacher explains in DEF.lecture  
‘A teacher explains in a lecture.’

mara ta7ki  
woman speaks  
‘A woman speaks.’

20.)



walid 7aaDan umm-o  
boy cuddler mother-his  
‘A boy cuddles his mom.’



binit mabSuu6a taD7ak  
 girl happy.F laugh.3.SG.F  
 ‘A happy girl laughs.’

binit 3abda abo-ha  
 girl adorer.F father-her  
 ‘A girl adores her father.’

21.)



wa7id raayig wa yigra jariida wa yishrab 3aSiir  
 someone ? and read.3.M.SG newspaper and drink.3.M.SG juice  
 ‘Some guys is ? and reading a newspaper and drinking juice.’

hadhha wa7id ga3id yishrab 3aSiir wa yigra jariida  
 this one sitter drink.3.M.SG juice and read.3.M.SG newspaper  
 ‘This guy is sitting drinking juice and reading a newspaper.’

zalame yigra jariida  
 man read.3.SG newspaper  
 ‘A man reads a newspaper.’

22.)





Momkin wilaad 7aara yl3abo korat as-sala  
 maybe boys hot play.3.M.PL ball.CS DEF.basket  
 ‘Maybe some hot boys are playing basketball.’

hadhha korat \*(as-)sela hadhha juza min filim k2ano  
 this ball.CS (DEF-)basket this part from film maybe  
 ‘This is basketball it’s a part from a film, maybe.’

\*hard to discern whether the *as* was there, I assume it was based on the other 2 responses

zlaam yel3abu korat as-sala  
 men play.3.M.PL ball.CS DEF.basket  
 ‘Men are playing basketball.’

23.)



ithnayn sheklhum bardo rijaal 3amal  
 two form.their also men.CS work  
 ‘Two, their appearance is also (that of) working men.’ (Also (*bardo*) is in reference to a previous picture.)

hadhool ithnayn ga3adeyn yishtaghalo bass mistaghrabiin min ish-shi  
 these two sitter.PL work.3.M.PL but surprised/confused from DEF-thing  
 ‘These two are sitting working but they are surprised/confused about something.’

zalama yista5dam laptop  
 man use.3.M.SG laptop  
 ‘A man is using a laptop.’

24.)

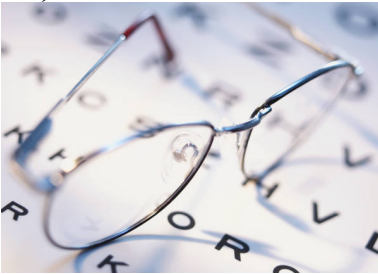


hay medinat malaahiy  
this metropolis.CS amusement  
'This is an amusement park.'

hay al3ab fii medinit tarfi7iyya  
this game.PL in metropolis.CS amusement.  
'These are games in an amusement park.'

medinat malaahiy  
metropolis.CS amusing  
'An amusement park.'

25.)



naDHaara ma76u6a 3la 7uruuf  
glasses puttee.F (i.e. "thing that is put") on letter.PL  
'Glasses placed on letters.'

naDHaara  
glasses  
'Glasses.'



**5.) Y, N, Y**

kul 6ulaab bi7ebuha!  
all.CS students love.3.M.PL.her  
'All students love her.'

**6.) Y(B), Y, Y**

kul a6-6ulaab bi7ebuha!  
all.CS DEF.student.PL love.3.M.PL.her  
'All of the students love her.'

**7.) Y, Y, N**

shwayyit 6ulaab bi7ebuha.  
a few.CS student.PL love.3.M.PL.her  
'A few students love her.'

**8.) N, N, N**

shwayyit a6-6ulaab bi7ebuha.  
a few.CS DEF.student.PL love.3.M.PL.her  
'A few of the students love her.'

**Part Two**

*I gave the subjects the following phrases and asked if they were acceptable or unacceptable.*

•Order: Kh-M-N

•Rate from 0-10, 0=totally unacceptable, 10=perfectly acceptable

•A potential weakness of this section is that I did not give them contexts for each example. It is possible that with proper context, some of these could be accommodated and found to be acceptable. This might account for some of the range in ratings.

**1.) 10, 10, 10**

shwayyit mayya  
little.CS water  
a little water

**2.) 5, 3, 7**

kthiirat mayya  
lot.CS water  
a lot of water

**3.) 7, 3, 0**

shwayya mayya  
little water  
a little water

**4.) 0, 0, 0**

kthiira mayya  
lot water  
a lot of water

**5.) 5, 6, 4**

shwayyit al-mayya  
little.CS DEF.water  
a little of the water (I think the water has to be known or specified)

**6.) 7, 7, 8**

kthiirit al-mayya  
lot.CS DEF.water  
a lot of the water

**7.) 0, 3, 5**

mayya shwayya  
water little  
a little water

**8.) 9, 3, 10**

mayya kthiira  
water lot  
a lot of water

**Part Three**

*I gave the subjects the following phrases and asked if they were acceptable or unacceptable.*

•Subject: M

•Subject was asked to pick the best phrases out of the following choices, and then rate.

Note: In much of the Middle East, grapes (*3inab*) are a count noun but beans (*fuul*) is a mass noun, because they are most often served mashed together.

Subject was given:

Beans

- 1.) shwayyit fool
- 2.) fool shwayya
- 3.) shwayyit al-fool
- 4.) shwayya al-fool

### Grapes

- 5.) shwayyit 3inab
- 6.) 3inab shwayya
- 7.) shwayyit 3inab
- 8.) shwayya al-3inab

Subject chose, as most acceptable:

- 1.) shwayyit fool = 10 (Subject noted this is the best one).
- 5.) shwayyit 3inab = 10
- 8.) shwayyit el fool = 10

Subject M added: “We use them [quantifier as the head of the CS] all the time during requests. Like, I’ll ask my mom, give me *shwayyit 3inab*. *Shwayyit Al-3inab* works also.”

As noted, I believe *shwayyit el-3inab* and other CSs in which the head is a quantifier and the embedded noun is marked with [+def] occurs most often when followed by a determiner, like “this” (*haadha*, *haadhi*, *hadoo*).

### **Part Four**

*I gave the subjects the following context and asked where on a 0-10 scale the following phrases fell.*

- Rate from 0-10, 0=totally unacceptable, 10=perfectly acceptable

### **Subject: M**

#### **a.)**

1.) We see some beans (fuul) on the table. Can I say:

#### **(i) 10**

Biddi shwayya.  
I want a little  
‘I want a little.’

#### **(ii) 0**

Biddi shwayyit.  
I want a little.CS  
‘I want a little.’

#### **(iii) 0**

Biddi shwayyit min-u (or min-a).  
I want a little.CS of-them  
‘I want a little/a few of them.’

Note: We might expect that the CS marker would appear in **ii** if there were an invisible noun or pronoun, but it doesn't appear (at least, we can assume it does not since marking *a little* with the phonologically present CS suffix *-it* leads to a 0 rating).

2.) I show you some grapes. I ask, "Did you have any of these?" Can you say:

**(i) 10**

Akalt shwayya.

I ate a little.

'I ate a little.'

**(ii) 0**

Akalt shwayyit.

I ate a little.CS

'I ate a little.'

**(iii) 10**

Akalt shwayya min-u (min-ha?).

I ate a little of-it.

'I ate a little of them.'

**(iv) 0**

Akalt shwayyit min-u (min-ha?).

I ate a little.CS of-it

'I ate a few of them/I ate a little of them.'

3.) I'm talking about a friend of ours that we think is annoying. Can I say:

**(i) 8**

Huwa maza3j shwayya.

he annoying a little

'He is a little annoying.'

**(ii) 0**

Huwa maza3j shwayyit.

he annoying a little.CS

'He is a little annoying.'

**(iii) 10**

Huwa shwayya maza3j.

he a little annoying.

'He is a little annoying.'

**(iv) 0**

Huwa shwayyit maza3j.  
he a little.CS annoying.  
'He is a little annoying.'

4.) I'm looking at my little sister who is yawning a lot after a long day. Can I say about her:

**(i) 10**

Hiyya ta3baana shwayya.  
she tired.F a little  
'She is a little tired.'

**(ii) 0**

Hiyya ta3baana shwayyit.  
she tired.F a little.CS  
'She is a little tired.'

**(iii) 10**

Hiyya shwayya t3abaana.  
she a little tired.F  
'She is a little tired.'

**(iv) 0**

Hiyya shwayyit t3abaana.  
she a little.CS tired.F  
'She is a little tired.'

5.) The music is playing very loudly. It is hurting my ears. Can I say:

**(i) 10**

wa6 aS-Sowt shwayya!  
turn.down.IMP DEF-sound a little  
'Turn down the sound/volume a little!' (To a male)

**(ii) 0**

wa6 aS-Sowt shwayyit!  
turn.down.IMP DEF-sound a little.CS  
'Turn down the sound/volume a little!' (To a male)

6.) My sister hasn't eaten all day. She is looking too skinny. I put a bowl of grapes in front of her. Can I say:



**(i) 10**

kulii shwayya!  
eat.IMP.F a little  
'Eat a little!' (To a female)

**(ii) 0**

kuli shwayyit!  
eat.IMP.F a little.CS  
'Eat a little!' (To a female)

**(iii) 9**

kuli shwayya minu (mina?)!  
eat.IMP.F a little of it  
'Eat a little of it!' (To a female)

**(iv) 0**

kuli shwayyit minu (mina?)!  
eat.IMP.F a little.CS of it  
'Eat a little of it!' (To a female)

7.) I ask you to list everything you've eaten. I ask at the end, "Wait, you didn't eat any grapes?" Can you say:

**(i) 10**

3inab? Akalt shwayya.  
grapes? I ate a little  
'Grapes? I ate a little/a few.'

**(ii) 0**

3inab? Akalt shwayyit.  
grapes? I ate a little.CS  
'Grapes? I ate a little/a few.'

**(iii) 10**

3inab, akalt shwayya min-u (min-ha?).  
grapes, I ate a little of-it.  
'Grapes, I ate a few of them.'

**(iv) 0**

3inab, akalt shwayyit min-u (min-ha?).  
grapes, I ate a little.CS of-it  
'Grapes, I ate a few of them.'

8.) I ask you to list everything you've eaten. I ask at the end, "Wait, you didn't eat any of the grapes on the table?" Can you say:

**(i) 10**

al-3inab? akalt shwayya.  
DEF-grapes? I ate a little  
'The grapes? I ate a little.'

**(ii) 0**

al-3inab? akalt shwayyit.  
DEF-grapes? I ate a little.CS  
'The grapes? I ate a little.'

**(iii) 10**

al-3inab, akalt shwayya min-om (min-ha?).  
DEF-grapes I ate a little of-them  
'The grapes? I ate a little of them.'

**(iv) 0**

al-3inab, akalt shwayyit min-om (min-ha?).  
DEF-grapes, I ate a little.CS of-them  
'The grapes? I ate a little of them.'

9.) I ask you to list everything you've eaten. I ask at the end, "Wait, you didn't eat any beans?" Can you say:

**(i) 10**

Fuul, akalt shwayya.  
beans, I ate a little  
'Beans, I ate a little.'

**(ii) 0**

Fuul, akalt shwayyit.  
beans, I ate a little.CS  
'Beans, I ate a little.'

**(iii) 10**

Fuul, akalt shwayya min-u.  
beans, I ate a little of-it  
'Beans, I ate a little of it.'

**(iv) 0**

Fuul, akalt shwayyit min-u.

beans, I ate a little.CS of-it  
'Beans, I ate a little of it.'

**10.)** I ask you to list everything you've eaten. I ask at the end, "Wait, you didn't eat any of the beans on the table?" Can you say:

**(i) 10**

Al-fuul, akalt shwayya.  
DEF-beans, I ate a little.  
'The beans, I ate a little.'

**(ii) 0**

Al-fuul, akalt shwayyit.  
DEF-beans, I ate a little.CS  
'The beans, I ate a little.'

**(iii) 10**

Al-fuul, akalt shwayya min-u (or min-ha?)  
DEF-beans, I ate a little of-it  
'The beans, I ate a little of them.'

**(iv) 0**

Al-fuul, akalt shwayyit min-u (or min-ha?)  
DEF-beans, I ate a little.CS of-it  
'The beans, I ate a little of them.'

**11.)** •Please note: at the time when I constructing these examples, I didn't know JBA doesn't use *bi-* indicative prefix. However, I am almost certain my consultants knew that the part of the sentence under discussion was the CS, so I don't think the *bi-* prefix had an effect on ratings.

••Also note: consultant N informed me that the quantifier *shwayya* would not be used in all of these contexts (as will be seen in his section, he uses *shwai* in some places. The suggestions he made will be highlighted in blue). As such, I am not sure if consultant M was just being nice when he gave these sentences high ratings and they really are ungrammatical, or if there was an actual difference in lexical preference.

We're having a debate. You think lots of people like Umm Koulsum. I disagree. Can I say:

**(i) 8**

shwayyit naas bi7ebu Umm Koulsum.  
few.CS people IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsum  
'Few people like Umm Koulsum.'

**(ii) 0**

shwayya naas bi7ebu Umm Koulsum.  
few people IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsum  
'Few people like Umm Koulsum.'

**(iii) 8**

shwayyit naas amirkiyiin bi7ebu Umm Koulsum.  
few.CS people American.PL IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsum  
'Few American people like Umm Koulsum/Few Americans like Umm Koulsum'

**(iv) 0**

shwayyit min an-naas al-amrikiyiin bi7ebu Umm Koulsum.  
few.CS of DEF-people DEF-American IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsum  
'Few of the American people like Umm Koulsum/Few Americans like Umm Koulsum'

**(v) 10**

shwayya min an-naas al-amrikiyiin bi7ebu Umm Koulsum.  
few of DEF-people DEF-American IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsum  
'Few of the American people like Umm Koulsum/Few Americans like Umm Koulsum'

**(vi) 10**

shwayya bi7ebu Umm Koulsum?  
few IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsum?  
'Few like Umm Koulsum?'

**12.)** Can I point to a platter of grapes on the table and say:

**(i) 10**

Bitshof hadhhi al-3inab? Biddi shwayya.  
IND.see.2<sup>nd</sup>.SG.M these DEF-grapes? I want a few  
'Do you see these grapes? I want a few/a little.'

**(ii) 0 |**

Bitshof hadhhi al-3inab? Biddi shwayyit.  
IND.see.2<sup>nd</sup>.SG.M these DEF-grapes? I want a few.CS  
'Do you see these grapes? I want a few/a little.'

**(ii) 10**

Bitshof hadhhi al-3inab? Biddi shwayya min-u (min-ha?).  
IND.see.2<sup>nd</sup>.SG.M these DEF-grapes? I want a little of-them  
'Do you see these grapes? I want a few/a little.'

**(iv) 0**

Bitshof hadhhi al-3inab? Biddi shwayyit min-u (min-ha?).  
IND.see.2<sup>nd</sup>.SG.M these DEF-grapes? I want a little.CS of-them

‘Do you see these grapes? I want a few/a little.’

Can I say:

**(i) 10**

Be7ab                      3inab.    Biddi shwayya.  
IND.like.1<sup>st</sup>.SG    grapes. I want a little.  
‘I like grapes. I want some/a little.’

**(ii) 0**

Be7ab                      3inab.    Biddi    shwayyit.  
IND.like.1<sup>st</sup>.SG    grapes. I want a little.CS  
‘I like grapes. I want some/a little.’

**(iii) 10**

Be7ab 3inab.    Biddi shwayya min-u (min-ha?).  
IND.like.1<sup>st</sup>.SG

**(iv) 0**

Be7ab                      3inab.    Biddi    shwayyit    min-u (min-ha?).  
IND.like.1<sup>st</sup>.SG    grapes. I want a little.CS    of-them  
‘I like grapes. I want some of them.’

**b.) Subject: N**

1.) We see some beans (fuul) on the table. Can I say:

**(i) 10**

Biddi    shwayya.  
I want a little.  
‘I want a little.’

**(ii) 0**

Biddi    shwayyit. **We can say: Biddi shwayyit fuul**  
I want a little.CS  
‘I want a little.’

**(iii) 0**

Biddit    shwayyit    min-u (or min-ha?).  
I want a little.CS    of-them  
‘I want a little of it.’

2.) I show you some grapes. I ask, “Did you have any of these?” Can you say:

**(i) 0**

Akalt shwayya.

I ate a little

‘I ate a little.’

**(ii) 0**

Akalt shwayyit.

I ate a little.CS

‘I ate a little.’

**(iii) 10**

Akalt shwayya min-u OR min-ha.

I ate a little of-it

‘I ate a little of it.’

**(iv) 0**

Akalt shwayyit min-u.

I ate a little.CS of-it

‘I ate a little of it.’

3.) I’m talking about a friend of ours that we think is annoying. Can I say:

**(i) 8**

Huwa maza3j shwayya. ★ We can say : Huwa maza3j shwai NOT shwayya

he annoying a little

‘He is a little annoying.’

★Here, the 8 rating is what Subject N would have given the sentence had I used *shwai* instead of *shwayya*

**(ii) 0**

Huwa maza3j shwayyit.

he annoying a little.CS

‘He is a little annoying.’

**(iii) 10**

Huwa shwayya maza3j. ⚡ We can say : Huwa shwayya OR shwai maza3j

he a little annoying

‘He is a little annoying.’

⚡Note that unlike in i, *shwayya* or *shwai* is ok...the only difference is the order in which *shwayya/shwai* and *maza3j* occur.

**(iv) 0**

Huwa shwayyit maza3j.

he a little.CS annoying  
'He is a little annoying.'

4.) I'm looking at my little sister who is yawning a lot after a long day. Can I say about her:

(i) 8

Hiyya ta3baana shwayya. ★Hiyya ta3baana shwai NOT shwayya

she tired.F a little

'She is a little tired.'

★Here, the 8 rating is what Subject N would have given the sentence had I used *shwai* instead of *shwayya*

(ii) 0

Hiyya ta3baana shwayyit.

she tired.F a little.CS

'She is a little tired.'

(iii) 7

Hiyya shwayya t3abaana. ☆Hiyya shwayya OR Shwai t3abaana

she a little tired.F

'She is a little tired.'

☆Note that unlike in i, *shwayya* or *shwai* is ok...the only difference is the order in which *shwayya/shwai* and *maza3j* occur.

(iv) 0

Hiyya shwayyit t3abaana.

she a little.CS tired

'She is a little tired.'

5.) The music is playing very loudly. It is hurting my ears. Can I say:

(i) 10

wa6i aS-Sowt shwayya OR Shwai

turn.down.IMP.F DEF-sound a little

'Turn down the sound/volume a little.'

(ii) 0

wa6i aS-Sowt shwayyit!

turn.down.IMP.F DEF-sound a little.CS

'Turn down the sound/volume a little.'

6.) My sister hasn't eaten all day. She is looking too skinny. I put a bowl of grapes in front of her. Can I say:

**(i) 10**

kuli shwayya! 10  
eat.IMP.F a little  
'Eat a little/some!'

**(ii) 0**

kuli shwayyit!  
eat.IMP.F a little.CS  
'Eat a little/some!'

**(iii) 9**

kuli shwayya min-u OR min-ha  
eat.IMP.F a little of-them  
'Eat a little/some of them!'

**(iv) 0**

kuli shwayyit min-u!  
eat.IMP.F a little.CS of-them  
'Eat a little/some of them!'

7.) I ask you to list everything you've eaten. I ask at the end, "Wait, you didn't eat any grapes?" Can you say:

**(i) 10**

3inab? Akalt shwayya.  
grapes? I ate a few.  
'Grapes? I ate a few.'

**(ii) 0**

3inab? Akalt shwayyit.  
grapes? I ate a few.CS  
'Grapes? I ate a few.'

**(iii) 10**

3inab, akalt shwayya min-u. min-u ONLY, not min-ha  
grapes, I ate a few of-them  
'Grapes, I ate a few of them.'

**(iv) 0**

3inab, akalt shwayyit min-u.



grapes, I ate a few.CS of-them  
'Grapes, I ate a few of them.'

**8.)** I ask you to list everything you've eaten. I ask at the end, "Wait, you didn't eat any of the grapes on the table?" Can you say:

**(i) 10**

al-3inab? akalt shwayya.  
DEF-grapes? I ate a few  
'The grapes? I ate a few.'

**(ii) 0**

al-3inab? akalt shwayyit.  
DEF-grapes? I ate a few.CS  
'The grapes? I ate a few.'

**(iii) 10**

al-3inab, akalt shwayya min-u. min-u ONLY, not min-ha  
DEF-grapes, I ate a few of-them  
'The grapes, I ate a few of them.'

**(iv) 0**

al-3inab, akalt shwayyit min-u.  
DEF-grapes, I ate a few.CS of-them  
'The grapes, I ate a few of them.'

**9.)** I ask you to list everything you've eaten. I ask at the end, "Wait, you didn't eat any beans?" Can you say:

**(i) 10**

Fuul, akalt shwayya.  
beans, I ate a little  
'Beans, I ate a little.'

**(ii) 0**

Fuul, akalt shwayyit.  
beans, I ate a little.CS  
'Beans, I ate a little.'

**(iii) 10**

Fuul, akalt shwayya min-ha. min-ha ONLY  
beans, I ate a little of-them  
'Beans, I ate a little of them.'

**(iv) 0**

Fuul, akalt shwayyit min-u.  
beans, I ate a little.CS of-it  
'Beans, I ate a little of it.'

**10.)** I ask you to list everything you've eaten. I ask at the end, "Wait, you didn't eat any of the beans on the table?" Can you say:

**(i) 10**

Al-fuul, akalt shwayya.  
DEF-beans, I ate a little.  
'The beans, I ate a little.'

**(ii) 0**

Al-fuul, akalt shwayyit.  
DEF-beans, I ate a little.CS  
'The beans, I ate a little.'

**(iii) 10**

Al-fuul, akalt shwayya min-u. min-u ONLY, not min-ha  
DEF-beans, I ate a little of-it  
'The beans, I ate a little of it'

**(iv) 0**

Al-fuul, akalt shwayyit min-u.  
DEF-beans, I ate a little.CS of-it  
'The beans, I ate a little of it.'

**11.)** We're having a debate. You think lots of people like Umm Koulsum. I disagree.  
Can I say:

**(i) 5**

shwayyit naas bi7ebu Umm Koulsum. ♣ we say: naas gleel OR mosh ktheer  
few.CS people IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsum  
'Few people like Umm Koulsum.'  
♣naas gleel=people few ('few people') and mosh kthiir=not many ('not many')

**(ii) 0**

shwayya naas bi7ebu Umm Koulsum.  
few people IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsum.  
'Few people like Umm Koulsum.'

❖ we say: naas gleel OR mosh ktheer

(iii) 5

shwayyit naas amirkiyiin bi7ebu Umm Koulsom. ❖  
few.CS people American.PL IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsom  
'Few American people like Umm Koulsom.'  
(we say :naas gleel amirkiyiin {or mosh ktheer})

❖ we say: naas gleel OR mosh ktheer

(v) 0

shwayyit min an-naas al-amrikiyiin bi7ebu Umm Koulsom.  
few.CS of DEF-people DEF-American.PL IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsom  
'Few of the American people like Umm Koulsom.'

❖ we say: naas gleel OR mosh ktheer

(vi) 5

shwayya min an-naas al-amrikiyiin bi7ebu Umm Koulsom.  
few of DEF.people DEF-American.PL IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsom  
'Few of the American people like Umm Koulsom.'

❖ we say: naas gleel OR mosh ktheer

(vii) 5

shwayya bi7ebu Umm Koulsom?  
few IND.like.3<sup>RD</sup>.PL Umm Koulsom?  
'Few like Umm Koulsom?'

❖ we say: naas gleel OR mosh ktheer

12.) Can I point to a platter of grapes on the table and say:

(i) 9

Bitshof ❖ had al-3inab? Bididi shwayya.  
IND.see.2<sup>nd</sup>.SG.M these DEF-grapes? I want a little  
'Do you see these grapes? I want a few/a little.'

❖ Originally, I had *hadhhi*, the feminine version of "this", but N corrected me

(ii) 0

Bitshof had al-3inab? Bididi shwayyit.  
IND.see.2<sup>nd</sup>.SG.M these DEF-grapes? I want a little.CS  
'Do you see these grapes? I want some.'



**2.) 0, 2, 0**

be7ab                      jowleh  
PROG.love.1.SG    tour  
I love tours.

**3.) 10, 10, 10**

be7ab                      aj-jowlaat  
PROG.love.1.SG    DEF-tour.PL  
I love tours.

**4.) 0, 3, 0**

be7ab                      jowlaat  
PROG.love.1.SG    tour.PL  
I love tours.

**5.) 0, 10, 8**

be7ab                      aruu7              fii              aj-jowleh  
PROG.love.1.SG    go.1.SG    on/in    DEF-tour  
I love going on tours.

**6.) 7, 10, 7**

be7ab                      aruu7              fii              jowleh  
PROG.love.1.SG    go.1.SG    on/in    tour  
I love going on tours.

**7.) 5, 10, 8**

be7ab                      aruu7              fii              aj-jowlaat  
PROG.love.1.SG    go.1.SG    on/in    DEF-tour.PL  
I love going on tours.

**8.) 8, 9, 7**

be7ab                      aruu7              fii              jowlaat  
PROG.love.1.SG    go.1.SG    on/in    tour.PL  
I love going on tours.

**Part Two** Usage of [+def] on nouns within a CS

•Notation:

Y=Acceptable

X=Unacceptable

- 1.) fustaan al-bint 7elu kthiir.  
 dress.CS DEF-girl pretty very  
 ‘The girl’s dress is very pretty.’

**a.) XXX**

CONTEXT1: There are many girls, all of which are wearing pretty dresses. \*I’m not looking at any particular girl.\* Can I say this?

**b.) YYY**

CONTEXT2: There is a crowd of men and one girl wearing a dress. Can I say this?

**i.) XXX**

\*bint al-7elwa 6awiila kt3iir.  
 girl.CS DEF-pretty tall.F very  
 ‘The pretty girl is very tall.’

[Note: I included **i** because if JBA had been like certain dialects of Lebanese, this may have been an acceptable way to say “The pretty girl is very tall.” This is the case with all labeled **i** in Part Two of this section.]

**2.)**

mart az-zalame la6ifa.  
 wife.CS DEF-man nice.F  
 ‘The man’s wife is nice.’

**a.) XXX**

CONTEXT 1: You walk up to a group of strangers and there are several men. Can I say this?

**b.) YYY**

CONTEXT 2: You walk up to a group of strangers and only one of them is a man. He has a woman next to him who is clearly his wife. Can I say this?

**i.) XXX**

\*zalame al-kbiir la6if.  
 man.CS DEF-big nice  
 ‘The big man is nice.’

3.)

shbaabik l-beyt mish nDiifa.  
window.CS DEF-house neg. clean.F  
'The windows of the house are not clean.'

a.) XXX

CONTEXT1: We are sitting on the beach, and I say this. I have not mentioned a house earlier in our conversation. Can I say this?

b.) YYY

CONTEXT2: We are talking about a specific house because we might want to buy it. Can I say this?

c.) YYY

CONTEXT3: We are walking by a street, and we pass a house with dirty windows. I point to the house. Can I say this?

i.) XXX

\*shbaabik l-nDiifa kbiira  
windows.CS DEF-clean.F big.F  
'The clean windows are big.'

4.)

sayaarat az-zalame 7elwa kthiir!  
car.CS DEF-man pretty.F very  
'The man's car is very pretty.'

d.i.) XXX

CONTEXT1: We are hanging around a group of people, and they all have tons of cars. Can I say this?

d.ii.) YYY

CONTEXT2: We are hanging around a group of people, and I point to one who is sitting in a car. Can I say this?

d.iii.) XXX

sayaarat aS-SZgiire ghaalia.  
car.CS DEF-small.F expensive.F  
'The small car is expensive.'

5.)

sayaarat ar-ra2iis 7elwa kthiir!

car.CS      DEF-president    pretty.F    very  
'The president's car is very pretty!'

**a.) YYY**

CONTEXT1: We are hanging outside of the house of the president, and he walks into a car. Can I say this?

**i.) XXX**

sayaarat    al-waasi3a    mish    ra5eesa.  
car.CS      DEF-wide.F    neg.    cheap.F  
'The wide car isn't cheap.'

**6.)**

Surit            a6-6ayyaara    mashhuura    kthiir.  
picture.CS    DEF-plane    famous.F    very  
'The picture of the plane is very famous.'

**a.) XXX**

CONTEXT1: We are in a museum, looking at beautiful photographs. There are 10 photographs of airplanes. We have not been talking about a specific plane, and I do NOT point to a particular one. Can I say this? XXX

**b.) YYY**

CONTEXT2: We are in a museum, looking at beautiful photographs. There is one and only one picture of an airplane. Can I say this?

**7.)**

Qadeyat    az-ziraa3a    Sa3ba    shwayya.  
issue.CS    DEF-farming.F    difficult.F    a little/slightly  
'The issue of farming is slightly difficult.'

**a.) YYM**

CONTEXT1: We are talking about problems in our country. Can I say this?

**b.) YYY**

CONTEXT2: We are talking about farming and its challenges. Can I say this?

**8.)**



u66at Is7aaq sooda.  
 cat.CS Isaac black.F  
 'Isaac's cat is black.'

**a.) YXX**

CONTEXT1: Isaac has 3 cats, one of them is black. Is this sentence ok? (if so, no uniqueness requirement)

**b.) YYY**

CONTEXT2: Isaac has 1 black cat. Is this sentence ok?

Check with verb:

**c.) YY**

u66at Is7aaq tijrii  
 cat.CS Isaac run-3.SG.  
 'Isaac's cat is running/runs.'

**b.) YY**

u66at Is7aaq tokil  
 cat.CS Isaac PROG.eat-3.SG.  
 'Isaac's cat is eating/eats.'

***Part Three*** *Alternate CS with preposition possession & Test clitic -t*

•Order of Ratings: KH-M-N

**1.)**

**a. 10, 10, 10**

ghorfat an-nowm  
 room.CS DEF-sleep  
 'bedroom'

**b. 0, 0, 0**

ghorfa an-nowm  
 room DEF-sleep  
 'bedroom'

**c. 9, 8, 8**

ghorfa li an-nowm  
 room of/for DEF-sleep  
 'bedroom'

**d. 0, 0, 0**

ghorfat li an-nowm

room.CS of/for DEF-sleep  
'bedroom'

2.)

**a. 10, 10, 10**

sayaarat az-zalame  
car.CS DEF-man  
'The man's car'

**b. 0, 0, 0**

sayaara az-zalame  
car DEF-man  
'the man's car'

**c. 10, 9, 8**

sayaara li al-zalame  
car of/for DEF-man  
'the man's car'

**d. 0, 0, 0**

sayaraat li al-zalame  
car.CS of/for DEF-man  
'the man's car'

3.)

**a. 10, 10, 10**

Surit a6-6ayaara  
picture.CS DEF-plane  
'the picture of the plane'

**b. 0, 0, 0**

Sura a6-6ayaara  
picture DEF-plane  
'the picture of the plane'

**c. 10, 10, 8**

Sura li 6-6ayaara  
picture for DEF-plane  
'the picture of the plane'

**d. 0, 5, 0**

Surit li 6-6ayaara

picture.CS for DEF-plane  
'picture for/of the plane'

### ***Part Four***

•Order of ratings: M-N-Kh

•Notation:

Y=Acceptable

Y(B)=Better than previous acceptable

N=Unacceptable

M=Possibly Acceptable

1.) I'm telling you a story. I begin "Once upon a time..." Can I say:

a. YYY

kaan      fii                      beyt   li-   zalame  
was        there(lit.in)   house for man  
'There was a man's house./A man had a house.'

b. NNN

kaan      fii                      beyt   az-zalame  
was   there(lit.in)   house   DEF-man  
There was the man's house./The man has a house.

2.) We are at work and a man walks by. I point to him. Can I say:

a. NNN

zalame   beyt-o        hajar  
man       house-his   stone  
'A man's house is stone.'

b. YYY

az-zalame   beyt-o        hajar  
DEF.man   house-his   stone  
'The man's house is stone.'

3.) I am bleeding. You ask me "What happened to you?" Can I say:

a. YYY

ta3thart              bi   shanta      kbiire   li      6aalib  
trip.PST.1.SG.   on   bag      big.F   at/to   student  
'I tripped on a student's big backpack.'

b, YYY(B)

ta3tharat      bi      shentat      a6-6aalib      al-kbiire

---

trip.PST.1.SG. on bag.CS DEF-student DEF-big.F  
 ‘I tripped on the student’s big backpack./I tripped on the big backpack of the student.’

4.) I am bleeding. You ask me “What happened to you?” I point to a student with backpack on. Can I say:

**a. NNN**

ta3thart bi shanta kbiire li 6aalib  
 trip.PST.1.SG. on bag big.F at student  
 ‘I tripped on a student’s big backpack.’

**b. YYY**

ta3tharat bi shentat a6-6aalib al-kbiire  
 trip.PST.1.SG on bag.CS DEF-student DEF-big.F  
 ‘I tripped on the student’s big backpack.’

5.) We are in school, learning about birds. Can the teacher say:

**a. YNN**

reesh li 3asfoor ts3ado 3la a6-6ayaraan  
 feathers at bird help.3.F.SG. on DEF-flying  
 ‘A bird’s feathers help it to fly.’

**b. Y(B)YY**

reesh al-3asfoor ts3ado 3la a6-6ayaraan  
 feathers.CS DEF-bird help.3.F.SG. on DEF-flying  
 ‘The bird’s feathers help it to fly.’

6.) We are walking, and a huge bird flies in front of us. Can I say:

**a. NYY**

ar-reesh al-kbiire li 3asfoor kthiir jameela  
 DEF-feathers DEF-big.F. at bird very pretty.F  
 ‘A bird’s big feathers are very pretty.’

**b. YYY**

ar-reesh al-kbiire li al-3asfoor kthiir jameela  
 DEF-feathers DEF-big.F. at DEF-bird very pretty.F  
 ‘The bird’s big feathers are very pretty.’

7.) Today I saw a girl I’ve never seen before and we’ve never talked about her. She had HUGE eyes. Can I say:

**a. YYY**

al-yowm shoft bint 3yoon-ha kbiira  
 DEF-day see.PST.1.SG girl eyes-her big.F

---

‘Today I saw a girl with big eyes.’

**b. NNN**

al-yowm shoft al-bint illi 3uyoon-ha kbiira  
DEF-day see.PST.1.SG. DEF-girl which eyes-her big.F  
‘Today I saw the girl with big eyes.’

8.) There are 3 girls standing in front of us. One of them has very big eyes. Can I say:

**a. NMN**

bint 3uyoon-ha kbiira  
girl eyes-her big.F  
‘A girl’s eyes are big.’

**b. YY(B)Y**

3uyoon al-binat kbiira.  
eyes.CS DEF-girl big.F  
‘The eyes of the girls are big.’

9.) I am talking to my young kids, trying to teach them a lesson. Can I say:

**a. NYN(notes zalame must be [+def])**

zalame galb-u kbiir ma 3nd-o a3adaa  
man heart-his big NEG. at-him enemy.PL  
‘A man whose heart is big has no enemies.’

**b. YYY**

wa7ad galb-u kbiir ma 3nd-o a3adaa  
one heart-his big NEG. at-him enemy.PL  
‘One whose heart is big has no enemies.’

**c. Y(but weaker)NN**

wa7ad galb-u kbiir ma 3nd-o el-a3adaa  
one heart-his big NEG. at-him DEF-enemy.PL  
‘One whose heart is big has no enemies.’

**d. YY(B)Y**

az-zalame illi galb-u kbiir ma 3nd-o a3adaa  
DEF-man which heart-his big NEG. at-him. enemy.PL  
‘The man whose heart is big has no enemies.’

**e. NNN**

az-zalame galb-u kbiir ma 3nd-o a3adaa

---

man-DEF heart-his big NEG. at-him enemy.PL  
'The man his heart is big has no enemies.'

**10.)** We are walking down the street and see a man. Can I point to him and say:

**a. NNN**

zalame galb-u kbiir  
man heart-his big  
'A man has a big heart.'

**b. YYY**

galb az-zalame kbiir  
heart.CS DEF-man big  
'The heart of the man is big.'

**11.)** We are talking about the importance of sunscreen. Can I say

**a. YYN**

walad bashart-u bayyiDa laazim yista5dem waaqi shemsi.  
boy skin-his white.F needs use.3.SG protector sunny  
'A boy with white skins needs to use sunscreen.'

**b. Y(B)Y(B)Y**

al-walad illi bashart-u bayyiDa laazim yista5dem waaqi shemsi.  
DEF-boy which skin-his white.F needs use.3.SG protection sunny  
'The boy with white skin needs to use sunscreen.'

**12.)** There are a bunch of very tan people, but one boy with very pale skin. I point to him. Can I say:

**a. NNN**

walad bashrat-u bayyiDa dayman mauriiD.  
boy skin-his white.F always sick  
'A boy with pale skin is always sick.'

**b. YYY**

al-walad illi bashart-u bayyiDa dayman mauriiD.  
DEF-boy which skin-his white.F always sick  
'The boy whose skin is pale is always sick./The boy with pale skin is always sick.'

**13.)** We are talking about the importance of sunscreen. Can I say:

**a. YYN**

7eta walid bashart-u soda laazim yista5dam waaqi shemsi.  
even boy skin-his black must use.3.SG protection sunny

---

‘Even a boy with dark skin must use sunscreen.’

**b. Y(B)Y(B)Y**

7eta al-walid illi bashart-u soda laazim yista5dam waaqi shemsi.  
even DEF-boy which skin-his black must use.3.SG protection sunny  
‘Even the boy with dark skin must use sunscreen.’

**14.)** We are on the beach and see a dark-skinned man walk by. Can I point to him and say:

**a. NNN**

walid bashart-u soda zameel-i  
boy skin-his black friend-my  
‘A boy with dark skin is my friend.’

**b. YYY**

al-walid illi bashrat-u soda zameel-i  
DEF-boy which skin-his black friend-my  
‘The boy with the dark skin is my friend.’

**15.)** We are talking about eye diseases. Can I say:

**a. YMN**

zalme 3yon-u zarge mu3arDH li S-Sarataan al-3iyn  
man eye-his blue.F susceptible to DEF-cancer DEF-eye  
‘A man with blue eyes is susceptible to eye cancer.’

**b. Y(B)Y(B)Y**

az-zalame illi 3yon-u zarge mu3arDH li Sarataan al-3iyn  
DEF-man which eye-his blue.F susceptible to cancer DEF-eye  
‘The man whose eyes are blue is susceptible to eye cancer.’

**16.)** We are at a café. I see a man and point to him. Can I say

**a. NMN**

zalame 3uyon-u zarge ustaaz-i  
man eye-his blue.F teacher-my  
‘A man with blue eyes is my teacher.’

**b. YYY**

iz-zalame illi 3uyon-u zarge ustaaz-i  
DEF-man which eyes-his blue.F teacher-my  
‘The man whose eyes are blue is my teacher.’

---

**c. YYY**

illi 3uyon-u zarge ustaaz-i  
he-which eyes-his blue.F teacher-my  
'The guy with blue eyes is my teacher.'

***Part Five*** *With preposition min*

•Order of ratings: M-N-Kh

•Notation:

Y=Acceptable

Y(B)=Better than previous acceptable

N=Unacceptable

M=Possibly Acceptable

◆Note: My consultants informed me that although these constructions in Part Five are permissible in Modern Standard Arabic, this is too high a register to be found in JBA. It is, therefore, not representative of their spoken dialect. ◆

**1.)**

**a. YYY**

b3ad 3ashr shuhur min as-safar, rag3at 3la Amriika.  
after ten.CS months of DEF-travel return.PST.1.SG on America  
'After 10 months of travel, I returned to America.'

**b. NNN**

b3ad 3ashr shuhur as-safar, rag3at 3la Amriika.  
after ten.CS months.CS DEF.travel return.PST.1.SG on America  
'After ten months of traveling, I returned to America.'

**2.)**

**a. YYY**

3aysht thamaniin sena min af-fara7.  
live.PST.1.Sg eighty.CS year of DEF-happiness  
'I lived 80 years of happiness.'

**b. NNN**

3aysht thamaniin sena af-fara7.  
live.PST.1.SG eighty.CS year.CS DEF-happiness  
'I lived 80 years of happiness.'

***Part Six*** *With 'wa7id' ("one") as first term of CS*

•Order of ratings: M-N-Kh

•Notation:

Y=Acceptable

---



Y(B)=Better than previous acceptable  
N=Unacceptable  
M=Possibly Acceptable

**1.) NNN**

wa7id az-zlaam rag3a  
one DEF-men return.PST.3.SG  
'One of the men returned.'

---

**2.) YYY**

wa7id min az-zlaam rag3a  
one of DEF-men return.PST.3.SG  
'One of the men returned.'

**3.) NNN**

wa7ida an-niswaan rag3at  
one DEF-women return.PST.F.3.SG  
'One of the women returned.'

**4.) YYY**

wa7ida min an-niswaan rag3at  
one of DEF-women return.PST.F.3.SG  
'One of the women returned.'

**With Context**

**5.)** We work for a tourism industry and are taking a group of students to Petra. The second day there, we notice that there is an empty seat on the bus. You ask "Why is there an empty seat?" Can I say:

**a. YYY**

wa7id min az-zlaam rag3a 3la beyt-o embare7.  
one of DEF-men return.PST.3.SG on house-his yesterday  
'One of the men returned to his house yesterday.'

**6.)** We work for a tourism industry and are taking a group of students to Petra. The second day there, we notice that there is an empty seat on the bus. You ask "Why is there an empty seat?" Can I say:

---

**a. YYY**

wa7ida min an-niswan rag3at 3la beyt-ha embare7  
one of DEF-women return.PST.3.F.SG on house-her yesterday  
'One of the women returned to her house yesterday.'

---

**iv. "IDaafa Ghayr 7aqeeqia"**

*Status of the "False IDaafa (CS) in JBA*

***Part One*** CS with adjective as head

•Order of ratings: M-N-Kh

•Notation:

Y=Acceptable

Y(B)=Better than previous acceptable

N=Unacceptable

M=Possibly Acceptable

◆Note: My consultants informed me that although these constructions in Part One are permissible in Modern Standard Arabic, this is too high a register to be found in JBA. It is, therefore, not representative of their spoken dialect. Putting a CS of this type into JBS speech would be akin to making one's speech "fancier"—it would not be incorrect, but it would not be the default way of saying these things. ◆

1.) There is kitten crying because it is very hungry and thirsty. A girl sees it, goes into a nearby store, buys water and food, and gives it to the kitten. Can I say:

**a. YYY**

hiyya 6ayyibat al-galb  
she good.F.CS DEF-heart  
'She is good-hearted.'

**b. NNN**

hiyya 6ayyiba al-galb  
she good.F DEF-heart  
'She is good-hearted.'

SUGGESTED: hiyya galb-ha 6ayyib

she heart-her good

'She is good-hearted.'

This is how the idea would be expressed in JBA.

2.) A random guy walks up to us in a coffee shop and starts talking, and doesn't stop for 15 minutes. He finally leaves. Can I say:

**a. YMY**

huwa kthiir al-7akkiy  
he lot.CS DEF-speech  
'He is talkative.'

**b. NNN**

huwa kthiir 7akkiy  
he lot speech  
'He is talkative.'

3.) We are walking in the park and there is a bird in a tree, singing a lovely song. Can I say:

**a. NNY(very weak) (acceptable in Modern Standard Arabic, not in JBA)**

al-3asfoor 7elu aS-Sowt  
DEF-bird lovely.CS DEF-voice  
'The bird is sweet-voiced (has a lovely voice).'

**b. NNN**

al-3asfoor 7elu Sowt  
DEF-bird lovely voice  
'The bird is sweet-voiced.'

SUGGESTED: al-3asfoor Sowt-u 7elu  
DEF.bird voice-his sweet  
'The bird's voice is lovely.'

SUGGESTED: Sowt al-3asfoor 7elu  
voice DEF-bird lovely.  
'The bird's voice is lovely.'

4.) We are going shopping. You've recently had eye surgery, and are still recovering, so you are having trouble seeing. We need to go shopping for shirts for you. You pick up several shirts, lay them out, and squint at them. You point at one, and ask, "What color is this shirt?" Can I say:

**a. N/a (not found in JBA) (but, in Modern Standard Arabic, YYY)**

hadhha al-gamis azrag al-lown  
this DEF-shirt blue.CS DEF-color  
'This shirt is blue in color (This shirt is blue).'

**b. NNN**

hadhha al-gamis azrag lown  
this DEF.shirt blue color  
'This shirt is blue in color. (This shirt is blue).'

**c. N/a (not found in JBA) (but in Modern Standard Arabic, YYY)**

[illegible]

### *Position of Demonstratives Nouns and CS*

N=Unacceptable

‘This is my brother.’

‘This is my brother.’

‘This is my brother.’

‘This is my brother.’

‘This is my sister.’

**b. YY(B)Y(B)**

hay u5t-i  
this sister-my  
'This is my sister.'

4.) You ask me, "Who is this?" Can I say:

**a. YY(B)Y(B)**

u5t-i hay  
sister-my this  
'This is my sister.'

**b. YYY**

hay u5t-i  
this sister-my  
'This is my sister.'

5.) My friends are right next to me. Can I say:

**a. YYY**

sa7abaat-i hadhool  
friend.PL.F-my these  
'These are my friends.'

**b. YY(B)Y(B)**

hadhool sa7abaat-i  
these friend.PL.F-my  
'These are my friends.'

6.) You ask me, "Who are they?" Can I say:

**a. YY(B)Y(B)**

sa7abaat-i hadhool  
friend.PL.F-my these  
'These are my friends.'

**b. YYY**

hadhool sa7abaat-i  
these friend.PL.F-my  
'These are my friends.'

7.) We trying to visit your sister's house, we are already running late, and there is a car accident which is stopping traffic. Can I say:

**a. YY(B)Y(B)**

mushkileh hay  
problem this  
'This is a problem.'

**b. Y(B)YY**

hay mushkileh

this problem.

‘This is a problem.’

**(♣Note: possibly stylistic with prosody concerns affecting preference.♣)**

**8.)** We trying to visit your sister’s house, we are already running late, and there is a car accident which is stopping traffic. Can I say:

**a. YY(B)Y**

mushkileh kbiire hay

problem big.F this

‘This is a big problem.’

**b. Y(B)YY(B)**

hay mushkileh kbiire

this problem big.F

‘This is a big problem.’

**9.)** My notebook is out you ask “What is that? Can I say:

**a. YYY(B)**

daftir-i hadhha

notebook-my this

‘This is my notebook.’

**b. YY(B)Y**

hadhha daftir-i

this notebook-my

‘This is my notebook.’

**10.)** My notebook is out and it is very big. You ask, “What is that?” and I reply, “A notebook,” and you say, “But it’s huge!” Can I say:

**a. YY(B)Y**

daftir kbiir hadhha

notebook big this

‘This is a big notebook.’

**b. Y(B)YY(B)**

hadhha daftir kbiir

this notebook big

‘This is a big notebook.’

**11.)** I helped you out with a project, and you give me \$20. Can I say:

**a. YY(B)Y**

kthiir, hadhha.

lot this

‘This is a lot.’ (Note: pause between *kthiir* and *haddha*)

**b. YYY(B)**

haddha kthiir.

this lot

‘This is a lot.’

**Part Two Demonstratives with CS**

•Notation:

Y=Acceptable

Y(B)=Better than previous acceptable

M=Maybe acceptable

N=Unacceptable

1.) I am giving you a tour of a house. I show you a room, and you aren’t sure what its purpose is. You ask, “What is this?” Can I say:

**a.) XXY**

ghorfat an-nowm haddahi.

room.CS DEF-sleep this

‘This is a bedroom.’

**b.) YYY(B)**

haddahi ghorfat an-nowm.

this room.CS DEF-sleep

‘This is a bedroom.’

Note: *haddahi ghorfat li n-nowm* (this room for DEF. sleep) also works—you can use a preposition instead of putting the nouns into a CS

2.) We are looking at rooms and we enter a bedroom that you think is very, very beautiful. Can you say:

**a. XYM**

haddahi ghorfat an-nowm jameela.

this room.CS DEF-sleep pretty.F

‘This bedroom is pretty.’

**b. YYY(B)**

ghorfat an-nowm haddahi jameela.

room.CS DEF-sleep this pretty.F

‘This bedroom is pretty.’

3.) We are walking towards my house and we see my sister and her friends. Can I say:

**a. XYY**

Sa7abaat u5t-i hadool.  
friends.F.PL.CS sister-m these  
'These are my sister's friends.'

**b. YYY(B)**

hadool Sa7abaat u5t-i  
these friends.F.PL.CS sister-my  
'These are my sister's friends.'

4.) We are walking to my house, and I see my sister and her friends leaving the house, screaming and dancing. Can I say:

**a. YYY(B)**

Sa7abaat u5t-i hadool majaaniiin.  
friends.F.PL.CS sister-my these crazy.PL.  
'These friends of my sister are crazy.'

**b. YYY**

hadool Sa7aabat u5t-i majaaniiin.  
these friends.F.PL.CS sister-my crazy.PL  
'These friends of my sister are crazy.'

5.) We are at a work meeting, working, and a friend walks in and asks "What is this?"  
Can I say:

**a. XXY**

mashrou3-na hadhha li as-sena al-jayya  
project-our this for DEF-year DEF-coming  
'This is our project for the coming year.'

**b. YYY(B)**

hadhha mashrou3-na li as-sena al-jayya.  
this plan-our for DEF-year DEF-coming  
'This is our project for the coming year.'

6.) We are working, and I really really like our idea and our project for the coming year.  
Can I say:

**a. YYY(B)**

mashrou3-na hadhha kthiir ra2i3!  
project-our this very awesome  
'This project of ours is really great!'



**b. YYY**

hadhha mashrou3-na kthiir ra2i3!  
this project-our very awesome  
'This project of ours is really great!'

7.) Someone throws me a wonderful surprise birthday party. You don't know what is going on, so you walk in ask and "What is this?" Can I say:

**a. XXY(B)**

3id.C milaad-i hadda!  
holiday birth-my this  
'This/It's is my birthday.'

**b. YYY**

hadda 3id milaad-i!  
this holiday.CS birth-my  
'This is my birthday!'

8.) I'm having a really fun birthday. Can I say:

**a. YY(B)Y(B)**

3id milaad-i hadhha kthiir momti3!  
holiday.CS birth-my this very fun  
'This birthday of mine is really fun!'

**b. YYY**

'hadhha 3id milaad-i kthiir momti3!  
this holiday.CS birth.my very fun  
'This birthday of mine is really fun!'

9.) My boss sees me leave work on Friday and says "See you tomorrow," and I say "No you won't!" and he asks "Why", can I say:

**a. XXM**

Nihaayat al-usb3 haddahi!  
end.CS DEF-week this  
'This is the end of the week.'

**b. YYM(B)**

Hadhahi nihaayat al-usb3!  
this end.CS DEF-week  
'This is the end of the week!'

**a. XXM**

**b.XXY**

[illegible]